CANADA JULY 29, 1974

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LETTERS

The Jokers

Sir / In view of how our national political leaders have avoided real issues regarding consumerism, foreign policy, the environment and just about everything else, their faces might just as well have appeared on jokers as aces [July 8].

ZACHARY GROSS
Winnipeg

Sir / Certainly our "ace of hearts" is the beloved Pierre, but would it not be more appropriate to switch the titles of David Lewis and Robert Stanfield? Traditionally diamonds represented the rich merchant, spades represented the working man.

DAVE MANN
Victoria, B.C.

The Press: Fair or Foul

Sir / Although a Nixon supporter, I can find no fault with your excellent story and essay on the American press [July 8].

HANS G. ENGEL, M.D.
San Fernando, Calif.

Sir / The defendant has sat in judgment on his case and found himself innocent.

Now isn't that a surprise?

W. WENDELL HEILMAN
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

Sir / I would gladly vote for repeal of the First Amendment.

ERIC LYSS
Bodega Bay, Calif.

Sir / What is hinted at in your article but not firmly postulated is that the audience can cut off its subscription, turn off a switch, tear up a page and shut off contact. It is proving substantially more difficult to prevent elected officials from foisting their excesses on us.

(MRS.) HOPE R. EINSTEIN
Stamford, Conn.

Sir / The definition of "newsman" is changing from "one who reports the news" to "one who makes the news."

JIM HALAVIN
Amherst, N.Y.

Sir / You seem to be appalled by the apathy of the public, and even Congress, toward Watergate and seemingly feel it is, and was, your duty to beat it to death. You have not shown anything more than what the public already feels: that Watergate was about as alarming as a group of small boys trying to steal green apples.

DALE M. UNDERWOOD
Santa Rosa, Calif.

Sir / A survivor of "the old George Seldes–A.J. Liebling school" wishes to say that your story and Essay make up one of

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the fairest reviews of the journalistic situation he has read in the past 60 years.

It is also one of the most alarming. The press deserved the attacks and criticisms of Will Irwin (1910) and Upton Sinclair (1920) and the muckrakers who followed, and it needs today the watchdog and gadfly activities of the new critical weeklies, but all in all it is now a better medium of mass information. It therefore deserves more public confidence than the polls you quote indicate. The 1972 Watergate disclosures, it is true, were made by only a score of the members of the mass media, but I remember Teapot Dome when only one of our 1,750 dailies (the Albuquerque *Morning Journal)* dared to tell the truth about White House corruption. We have come a long way since.

GEORGE SELDES
Windsor, Vt.

The Real Prisoners

Sir / Since there was no script and I have no copy of TV's *2,251 Days,* it is impossible for me to verify what you quote as my opinion of the North Vietnamese: "petty, vindictive, mean little people . . . an armed group of paranoid children" [July 8].

The quotation as reported was accurate only in respect to the North Vietnamese Communists who held me captive. However, it would be a grave injustice to call this the national characteristic of millions of sensitive, creative and patriotic Vietnamese both North and South. My ire is directed toward an ideology. My empathy is for those enslaved by Communism.

The average North Vietnamese was more of a prisoner outside the walls of Hoa Lo than I was within. After all, my term was only for six years; they are lifers. May God give them strength.

RICHARD A. STRATTON
Commander, U.S.N.
Sunnyvale, Calif.

Licit Lovers' Guide?

Sir / *Lovers' Guide to America* [July 1] really got to me. I was all set to make reservations at any of the romantic rendezvous for lovers you described.

Then it struck me! Would we have to fake our credentials? Would they let us register? Are we out of it all? We're married!

ELLIE WEGENER
Philadelphia

Khatyn and Katyn

Sir / It is regrettable that in its coverage of President Nixon's visit to Khatyn, the village near Minsk where 149 Byelorussians perished at the hand of the Nazis, the press ignored another massacre not far away. In Katyn, near Smolensk, more than 4,000 Polish officers taken prisoner by the Russians at the outset of the war were executed by NKVD troops in April 1940.

The Russians blamed the Nazis for these atrocities, but as an officer in the Polish underground then, I received firsthand information from Red Cross investigators —on-the-spot information later corroborated by a U.S. congressional committee —that the massacre had in fact been perpetrated by the Soviets. It is noteworthy that in the Nuremberg trials, Nazi leaders, at Soviet insistence, were accused of the murders, and despite the presence of a Soviet judge on the tribunal, they were never convicted.

The similarity in the names of the two locations may be a coincidence, but to Poles and many others familiar with the event, it suggests that the President was used by Brezhnev to shroud in confusion the responsibility for one of the war's most vicious crimes.

STEFAN KORBONSKI
Chairman
Assembly of Captive Nations
Washington, D.C.

The Death of Danielou

Sir / Re your report on the death of Jean Cardinal Danielou who died while visiting the apartment of a young Parisienne [July 1]: Isn't it lucky that Christ died on that Cross instead of in Mary Magdalene's home?

JOSEPH T. MCGLOIN, S.J.
Tacoma, Wash.

Only the Facts

Sir / In your account of the Kalb brothers' book called *Kissinger* [July 1] it is reported that after the U.S. Government had decided to order a military alert during the Middle East war, Secretary Kissinger "called then British Ambassador Lord Cromer, who responded snippily: 'Why tell us, Henry? Tell your friends—the Russians.' "

I can confirm that no such remark was made by me to Mr. Kissinger. Our conversation was entirely factual, and I thanked Secretary Kissinger for putting me in a position to inform the British government of the decision of the U.S. Government.

CROMER
London

Jesus' First Snowflake

Sir / In my opinion, anyone who asserts, as Delores Wegner does in "The New Counter-Reformation" [July 8], that the first snowflake of compromise was the first time we said "Holy Spirit" instead of Holy Ghost or the first hamburger we ate on Friday deserves to have her faith shook up to make room for real faith. Jesus' "first snowflake" was when he picked the heads of wheat on a Sabbath day, saying: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath" *(Mark 2: 28).*

(THE REV.) ALEXIS MORRIS, O.F.M.
Paterson, N.J.

Sir / As a young liberal, I remain confident that the renewal and reforms will continue. For besides the ecclesiastical domino theory, we young radical clergy also have the "dinosaur theory" on our side, *i.e.,* we are going to outlive the ecclesiastical oldtimers who, by failing to adapt to their new environment, will likewise fail to survive.

(THE REV.) SPENCER STOPA
Albuquerque

Sir / Yes, the Latin Tridentine Mass is alive and well, existing in many small Mass centers throughout the U.S. However, many of us who are traditionalists do not advocate abolishment of the new rites and liturgies. Instead, we wonder why a single Latin Mass could not be offered in every Roman Catholic church every Sunday and holy day? With the great number of Sunday Masses in the average parish, would the use of one Latin Mass be such a problem?

(THE REV.) JOSEPH F. ROSE
San Jose, Calif.

Address Letters to TIME Letters, 1155 Dorchester Blvd. West, Suite 2300, Montreal, Quebec H3B 2K3, Canada

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Associate Editor: Geoffrey James
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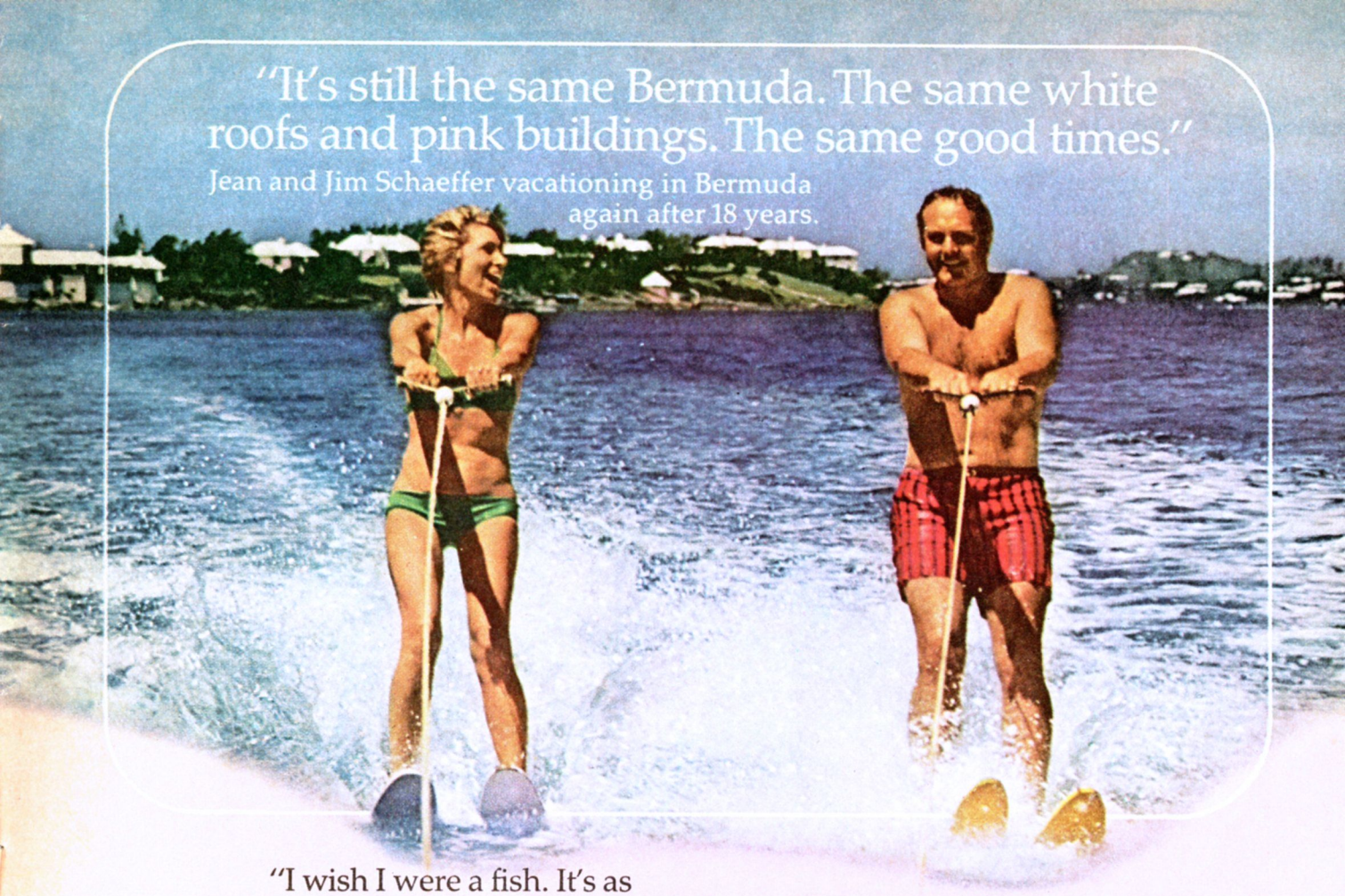

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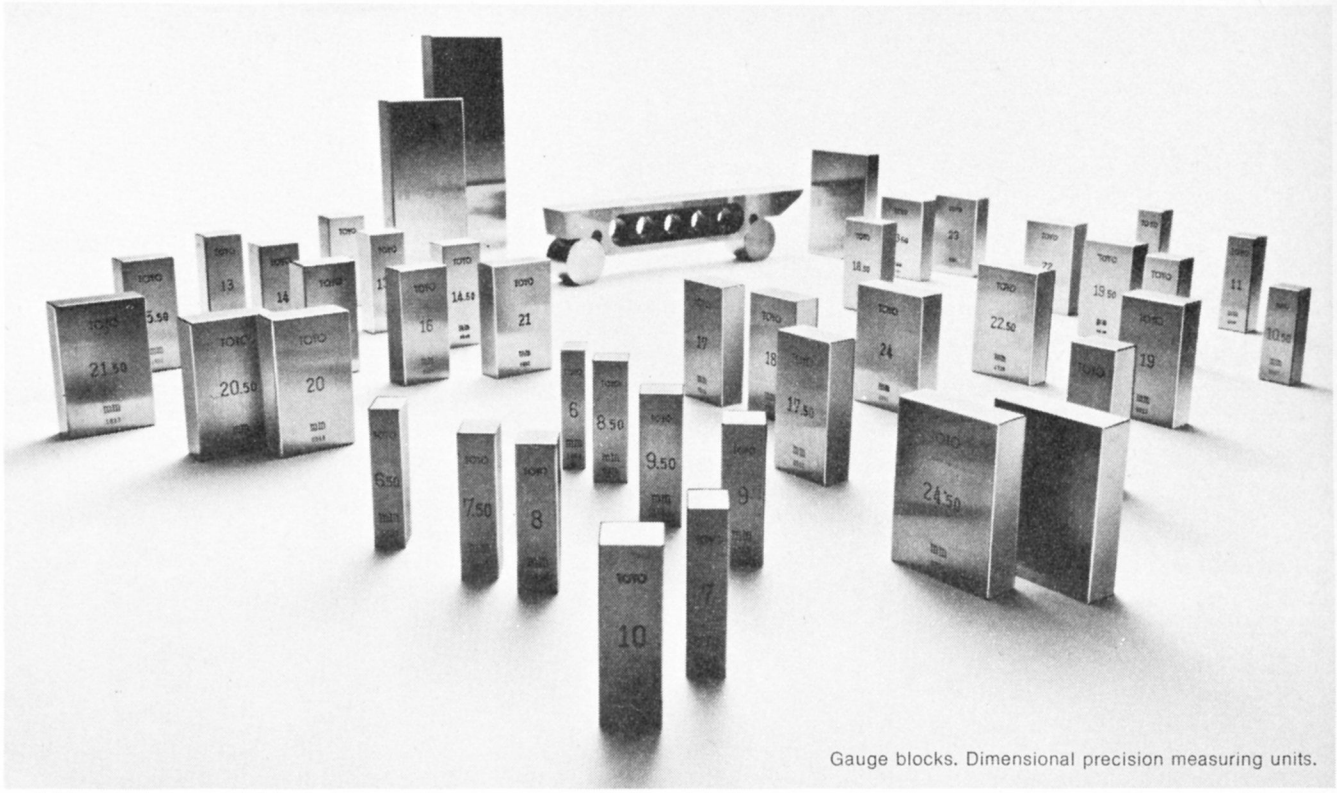

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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Saturday afternoon, in the midst of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, Jerusalem Bureau Chief William Marmon looked out of the window of TIME Stringer Alex Efty's Nicosia home to see a Turkish pilot bailing out at 15,000 feet directly over the building. Greek soldiers in the street below nervously cocked their weapons, preparing to shoot the parachutist as he came down. Suddenly, a strong south wind blew the man out of range. "His fate," cabled Marmon to New York minutes later, "is unknown."

Marmon, Photographer David Rubinger and a few fellow journalists had arrived in Nicosia two days earlier in a chartered plane, the first civilian flight to land in Nicosia after Monday's coup. Quick to follow was Beirut Bureau Chief Karsten Prager, who, like Marmon, reported for TIME on both the Viet Nam War and last year's Middle East October war. Prager made it to Cyprus aboard a 1,000-ton German trawler bearing two dozen newsmen whose transistor radios interfered dangerously with the ship's compass. "The old Viet Nam bush jackets are here in full flower," quipped Marmon as Prager and other journalists arrived. "But there is no real war to report on."

PRAGER

MARMON

Then, suddenly, there was. Prager and Rubinger, along with some 150 other newsmen, were asleep at Nicosia's posh Ledra Palace Hotel when the Turkish attack began. They awoke to the sound of gunfire and could see paratroopers dotting the skies. A bazooka shell hit the hotel, killing two Greek soldiers. Power at the Ledra was cut off, and reporters were unable to file their stories. Prager managed to phone Marmon at Efty's apartment to convey eyewitness accounts of the fighting. Marmon, in turn, though periodically distracted by "soldiers with a weird assortment of weapons drifting into the house," fed Prager's reports into Efty's telex machine —the only line out of Nicosia then available to journalists.

■

"The oceans," says Associate Editor Philip Herrera, "have always been a rich, romantic subject of great lore and splendid traditions. But that's all changing." This week Herrera, aided by Reporter-Researcher Patricia Beckert, examines the dynamics of the international struggle for custody of the seas. Their story marks the reappearance of our Environment section, which for the past eight months has given way to demands of our Energy section. Associate Editor Frederic Golden and Reporter-Researcher F. Sydnor Vanderschmidt contributed an accompanying article on the vast natural resources of the oceans.

Ralph P. Davidson

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QUEBEC

Bill 22: The Dangers of Haste

With barely disguised impatience, Quebec's Premier Robert Bourassa has spent the past two months pushing his controversial language bill through the motions of enactment. Yet Bill 22, a far-reaching legislative attempt to bolster and promote French in Quebec, has so far resisted Bourassa's prodding. Ambiguously drafted and reserving broad arbitrary powers to its administrators, it has been vehemently opposed by a wide spectrum of Quebeckers for a wide variety of reasons. Such opposition, however, appears only to have hardened Bourassa's resolve. After only cursory public discussions on the many complexities of the act, the Liberal Premier is preparing to use his unassailable 93% majority in Quebec's National Assembly to force closure on debate and thus pass Bill 22 into law by the end of this week.

Bourassa's haste is not likely to improve a piece of legislation that will affect the life of everyone in Quebec. In pushing through Bill 22, the Quebec government is attempting, as the bill's preamble states, "to employ every means within its power to ensure the preeminence of [the French] language and to promote its vigor and quality." The bill's first clause proclaims French the province's official language—but leaves the status of English undefined. The government and all its agencies must conduct their communications in French, although English-speaking Quebeckers have the right to deal with the government in English. Labor disputes and contracts are to be negotiated in French unless the union demands otherwise. In order to be eligible to do business with the government, Anglophone firms must adopt a government-approved program to convert at least partially to French.

The bill's most contentious chapter, however, concerns education. The province's English school system will be more or less frozen at its present size—about 15% of the student population—and henceforth will be restricted mostly to English-speaking children. Unless their native tongue is English, immigrant children will be forced to go to French schools. French children will be allowed to attend English schools only if they can pass a language test and if the English school in their district has room for them. "How can a lawmaker agree to such an absurdity?" asked *Le Devoir*'s Claude Ryan. "If one citizen has a right, it must apply on equal terms and conditions to others."

PIERRE FLEURY—LE SOLEIL, QUEBEC

WOMEN PROTESTERS CHAINED TO SEATS IN THE QUEBEC NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
A wide spectrum of opponents with a wide variety of reasons.

Questions of Right. From the start, Bill 22 has run into widespread and strident criticism. Such was the outcry when the bill was introduced that the government held public hearings before the National Assembly's language committee. Altogether, 157 groups and individuals applied to appear. The Liberals cut off the hearings before even half had had their say, but the message was clear enough: two-thirds of those delivering briefs wanted the abolition of Bill 22 in toto, while most of the rest demanded significant amendments. From the nationalist point of view Bill 22 simply does not go far enough. "It is a denial of majority rights and majority rule," says Parti Québécois Opposition Leader Jacques-Yvan Morin. English Quebeckers, on the other hand, feel that the bill abolishes the right of parents to choose their children's language of instruction. "Freedom of choice," says Liberal M.N.A. George Springate, "is no longer a right but a privilege dependent upon the whim of a school board."

Both sides agree that Bill 22 is riddled with ambiguities. The ultimate effect of many key clauses will depend upon regulations not yet spelled out, to be administered by civil servants granted immunity from judicial review. Moreover, the bill is almost certain to be challenged in the courts. Last week, a group of seven McGill law professors, including former Dean Frank Scott, came to the opinion that 30 of the bill's clauses were possibly or probably unconstitutional. The most obvious clash is with section 133 of the British North America Act, which declares English and French to be Canada's official languages. The problem is viewed with some unease by Pierre Trudeau's Liberals in Ottawa. The Federal Government will keep a hands-off policy until the bill is enacted, though it has set up a legal watch on the legislation. Questioned on what he would do if Ottawa thought the bill were unconstitutional, Trudeau said he would be loath to use anything as drastic as the power of disallowance, preferring instead to use persuasion or to back some kind of court challenge.

Legalities aside, there is much to debate about Bill 22. Unfortunately, little of that debate has taken place in

Quebec's National Assembly. With only six seats out of 110, the opposition Parti Québécois has been able to do little more than filibuster in an attempt to have the legislation postponed. With the bill in the committee stage last week, proceedings were delayed for nearly a day when nine angry women —including the sister of Education Minister François Cloutier, the bill's nominal sponsor—trooped into the hearing room, chained themselves to chairs and shouted insults at the legislators. "They've made all the concessions to the English," complained Jacqueline Dugas, a Parti Québécois activist.

Such sentiments demonstrate a belief by many French Quebeckers that their language and culture are in danger. The threat, however, may not be as serious as it appears. In its most pessimistic projections, Quebec's exhaustive language commission came to the conclusion that by 1991 French will be the mother tongue of 79.9% of the population. At the time of the study it was spoken by 80.7%.

It has long been argued that French Quebeckers fear their language is threatened, whether it really is or not. But that argument was weakened somewhat last month by two independent public opinion polls. Questioned by the Quebec Institute of Public Opinion whether they believed the French language was in danger, 54.1% of the respondents (all French Quebeckers) answered no. Asked by the Centre de Recherche en Opinion Publique to predict the future health of French in Quebec, 35% said it would improve, 38% said it would stay the same, only 17% thought it would deteriorate. The two polls also found that French Quebeckers do not approve of most of the basic changes proposed by Bill 22. They oppose, 80% to 19%, declaring French the only official language of the province. By nearly the same margin, they want to continue to have the right to send their children to English schools. Almost unanimously, they oppose imposing French as the language of work.

Those figures explain why there is division within Bourassa's own Liberal caucus. Most of the ten English deputies feel sold out, and a few of the French—including Communications Minister Jean-Paul L'Allier—charge that the bill does not go far enough. Bourassa's answer has been to impose party discipline on all 102 Liberal deputies, forcing them to support Bill 22 or face possible expulsion. At the second reading last week, two members—both Anglophones—risked their seats by voting against the government. They may be joined this week by two others, including Glen Brown, an 18-year Assembly veteran, who has announced that he will resign his seat unless English schools are kept open to all. That seems unlikely. Bill 22 is now in final form, and the Bourassa regime appears happy with it. "The bill," says Cloutier, "is a realistic and pragmatic solution to a problem which exists."

DUNCAN CAMERON—CAPITAL PRESS

TRUDEAU AT PRESS CONFERENCE

THE REALM

The Morning After

Having savored the fruits of victory, Prime Minister Trudeau last week seemed intent upon lingering over brandy and cigars. At his first post-election press conference—where newsmen expected word of Cabinet shuffles, new appointments and legislative priorities —he said little more than "*mañana.*" After closeting himself for six hours with his ministers, Trudeau announced that Parliament will reconvene on Sept.

CANADIAN NOTES

Mrs. Fiedler's Rights

Legal landmarks are never permanent, but their erosion often takes decades. Not always. Consider the Murdoch case of last October, in which the Supreme Court of Canada handed down a startling denial of women's legal equality with men. The Court had been asked to decide whether Mrs. Irene Florence Murdoch, an Alberta farm wife legally separated from her husband after 25 years of marriage, was entitled to a share in the farm that her labor had helped acquire and develop. It ruled she was not—that by common law, the farm belonged exclusively to her husband. The decision was widely protested, and its importance as a guideline has now been diminished. Last week, in a case remarkably similar, Alberta Supreme Court Justice W. K. Moore decided for women.

The petitioner was Mrs. Barbara Ann Fiedler, also an Alberta farm wife, whose husband had won an uncontested divorce after 22 years of marriage. Like Mrs. Murdoch, she contended that her labors had contributed substantially to the farm and that she was entitled to a share of it, despite the fact that it was registered in her husband's name. Unlike Mrs. Murdoch, who had spent her labor almost entirely on the farm, Mrs. Fiedler had also worked as a teacher for twelve years. She had earned a salary (a total of $51,000) and had contributed all of it to the maintenance of her family and the farm. Partly because of her financial support, her husband had been able to expand the size of the farm to 1,120 acres.

The difference in the two women's contributions was perhaps technical, but Justice Moore seized on it as a basis for his verdict: that Mrs. Fiedler was entitled to "an equal interest" in the land. In the Murdoch case, he noted, "the majority judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada was to a large extent based on the findings of the trial judge . . . that the wife's contribution in labor consisted of no more than what would ordinarily be expected of a ranch wife in Canada." On the other hand, he said, "I am fully satisfied Mrs. Fiedler made a very substantial contribution, one without which the lands would not have been acquired." The implication of the judgment seems to be that women who work for money take legal precedence over women who simply work. The position may be inequitable, but it is a step beyond that of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Confrontation at The Pas

Ever since Canada first put its Indians on welfare, upright Canadians have been imploring them to adopt the white man's ways, get off the dole and go to work. At The Pas, Man., this month, the 1,100 member local Indian band finally decided to take the white man at his word. It broke ground for the first band-owned shopping center in Canada, a federally backed $5.5 million project that will provide both jobs and incentive to The Pas' reservation Indians—if it is allowed to be built. There may be some doubt. A white citizens group is now trying to block the scheme.

The confrontation was precipitated by a small collection of storekeepers who call themselves The Pas Merchants' Association. They asked a federal court last week for a stop work injunction on the grounds that the shopping center would constitute unfair competition. To support their case, they

FRED CHARTRAND—CP

ED BROADBENT & DAVID LEWIS

30 (hastily changed from Sept. 26 when aides discovered that date was the Jewish Yom Kippur holiday). But the Prime Minister hadn't "quite made up my mind" in matching faces to portfolios in a new Cabinet. Legislative priorities, too, would come up at another meeting this week. Even on choosing a successor for retired House Speaker Lucien Lamoureux, Trudeau said, "I'd like to think it over at some length."

The press conference prompted the Montreal *Star* to complain that "there was nothing to give the slightest indication that this is a new Government with a new mandate and new energy." The editorial writer was thinking of 1968, when Trudeau dawdled for much of the four years following his landslide victory until the voters nearly threw him out. This time, considering his regained majority, the P.M. was taking pains to present an image of reasonableness and concern. The Government, he reassured Canadians, would do nothing to raise unemployment while fighting the inflation that is still Trudeau's gravest problem (*see story on page 10*). As he had on election night, he extended an olive branch to the West, where "I perhaps did not try hard enough" during the campaign. Trudeau announced only one important action: immediate removal of the 12% federal tax on clothing and shoes. The tax cut would be monitored by Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Herb Gray to "ensure that the benefits are passed on to the consumers." That may be an academic exercise, since business spokesmen immediately warned the measure would merely slow down price increases.

Prime Ministerial aides had another explanation for Trudeau's soft-pedaling. Mindful of the 1972 backlash against his arrogance, they explained, the P.M. "wants to make damn sure he does not commit the same mistakes again." Hence, a certain mellowness. Trudeau will proceed slowly, likely making minor Cabinet changes in mid-August, but waiting until January before making any major shifts. One aide also admitted that Trudeau is "not a happy axman" when it comes to changing advisors or ministers—so that for the time being he has retained defeated Environment Minister Jack Davis in the Cabinet, despite his non-standing in the Commons.

Change of Stance. A day earlier, Justice Minister Otto Lang seemed to indicate some change in Government stance, expressing dissatisfaction with the manner in which some Canadian hospitals were applying Canada's abortion law. They should "only recommend abortions," said Lang, a Roman Catholic with seven children, "if there was really a case of serious danger to life or health of the mother. I suspect some hospital committees are doing far less than that." Prime Minister Trudeau did not comment on Lang's position, but did disagree with Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan's post-election claim that Canadian food prices were "still not high enough." Said Trudeau: "I do not want his statement to be interpreted as meaning that the price [of food] must go up."

With much of the nation on vacation, the Prime Minister could perhaps afford to procrastinate a little, a luxury not permitted the New Democratic Party. The 16-man N.D.P. Commons caucus had to choose a temporary Parliamentary leader after defeated David Lewis made it clear he would not run in a by-election. Party veterans Tommy Douglas and Andrew Brewin withdrew from the competition in favor of 38-year-old Ed Broadbent, M.P. for Oshawa-Whitby, a former York University

also claim that the project, which is located on Indian land outside The Pas, would deprive the town treasury of business and realty taxes. Finally, in a curious reversal of White Canada's traditional stand, they argue that Indian lands must be used only for traditional Indian pursuits—farming and hunting, but never commerce.

Breakfast at Giustini's

The Giustini Steak House is a workaday restaurant next to an auto body repair shop on a back street of St. Léonard, a north end Montreal suburb. It is 1½ miles (and two traffic lights) from the nearest expressway exit, yet it is a favored truck stop. No major construction sites are nearby, yet construction workers flock in for breakfast. By 6 a.m., half an hour after the waitresses come on duty, Giustini's is S.R.O. Good food? Partly, perhaps; Manager Melvin Deutsch does bake his own bread rolls. But he has also introduced a new wrinkle to the fabric of Canadian culture: topless breakfasts.

"It's no big deal," says Deutsch, 37, a man of some modesty. Indeed, his seven waitresses, hired from a go-go-dancer agency, are not absolutely topless. They achieve sort of a homey, breakfast time informality—and at the same time conform to health code regulation that their armpits must be covered—by wearing blouses left open in the front. Such attention to detail, plus a house rule forbidding dates with the customers, has kept Giustini's in the good graces of the law. A St. Léonard town councilor has threatened to introduce a bill of redress, but police have received no formal complaints. "There's no problem," says a Montreal Urban Community Police spokesman. "I might even go there for breakfast myself."

It could be argued that topless breakfasts are simply a logical extension of topless lunches, which are now old hat. Deutsch says he joined the trend, in May, only to save his regular customers from being tempted away by a spate of naked lunch counters—"real holes in the wall, flea traps where a man could get poisoned." Giustini's has since increased its business by half, now serves 2,500 meals a day, starting with 800 breakfasts. It is also beginning to be a tourist attraction. Perhaps recalling the days of Montreal The Bad, a group of businessmen and their secretaries from Oshawa, Ont., flew in recently just to visit Giustini's. They stayed for lunch and dinner, then flew back home.

PAUL GELINAS

WAITRESS SERVING BACON & EGGS

political science professor and a caucus left-winger. The party's next stop will be a full dress leadership convention early next year. Still to face up to the aftermath of defeat are the 95 elected Tories. Already breaking up into factions, they will caucus in mid-August to decide the fate of Robert Stanfield. Moaned one veteran M.P.: "As usual, we'll have our bloodletting. It's going to be bloody awful." Demand for Stanfield's replacement is high; the trouble will be deciding on a successor. Said another prominent Tory M.P.: "I just hope we can put the pieces together over the next four years. It's going to be a Herculean task for whoever will have the dubious honor of being the new party leader."

TECHNOLOGY

CANDU Comes Through

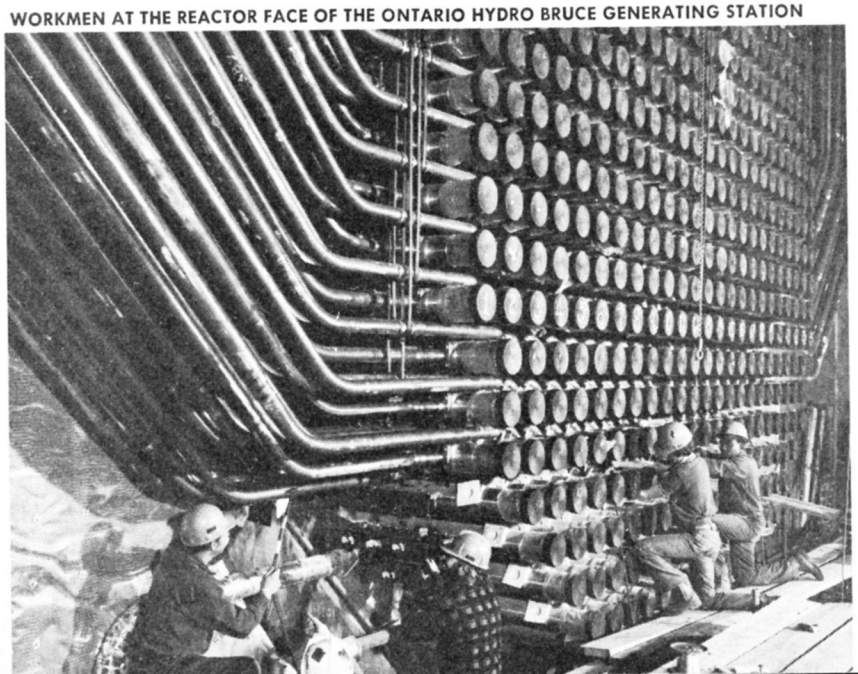
Since it was designed and developed in the mid-50s, Canada's CANDU nuclear reactor has not been a hot sales item internationally. The Canadian system, which employs heavy water and natural uranium, has fared poorly in competition with the better known U.S. enriched-uranium, light water reactors. Now, however, the British Government has decided to go with heavy water reactors similar to CANDU for its next generation of nuclear power stations—a move that prompted Energy Minister Donald MacDonald to exult that "Canadian nuclear technology has been vindicated."

Though Britain chose to modify its existing system toward the Canadian model rather than buy CANDU reactors, the agreement should be a profitable one for the Crown-owned Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. In addition to sizable shipments of equipment and expertise, Canada is expected to provide at least $100 million worth of the heavy water that controls the system's atomic reaction over the next few years. What prompted the British to ignore their own industrial preference for the American system? The answer, though it was understated by British politicians, was safety. According to Sir Alan Cottrell, the recently retired chief government scientific adviser, the American system depends on "almost superhuman engineering and operational qualities" in order to be totally safe.

The most far-reaching effect of the new British-Canadian agreement may prove to be the opportunity to collaborate in selling reactors to third countries. Loans for atomic energy development from Canada's Export Development Corp. have been stretched to the legal limit of $458 million, and AECL officials hope that the British will now extend credit to less developed nations interested in CANDU. South Korea has already announced that it plans to buy one 600 megawatt reactor and is expected to order a second. Argentina has also contracted for a Canadian plant, and next month, window-shopping representatives from a Danish power utility company will go to visit nuclear sites in Quebec and Ontario. Japan, Mexico and Iran are eyeing CANDU plants, and current discussions with Rumanian officials could lead to the sale of 20 large generators and the development of an East European power grid.

Moral Issue. AECL spokesmen, however, caution that their ability to deliver is limited by their engineering capacity and their ability to produce the heavy water needed by CANDU plants. Moreover, with 18 years of Canadian nuclear aid to India exploding in a bang May 18, not everyone is delighted with Canada's growing role as nuclear salesman. The Toronto *Globe and Mail* has accused the Government of skirting the "moral issue" involved in providing possibly dangerous nuclear expertise for profit. Since India's nuclear explosion, Ottawa has demanded written guarantees from customer nations to preclude the spread of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, CANDU salesmen are expected to pitch their product with even greater fervor in the months to come.

WORKMEN AT THE REACTOR FACE OF THE ONTARIO HYDRO BRUCE GENERATING STATION



FINANCE

Bonds Away

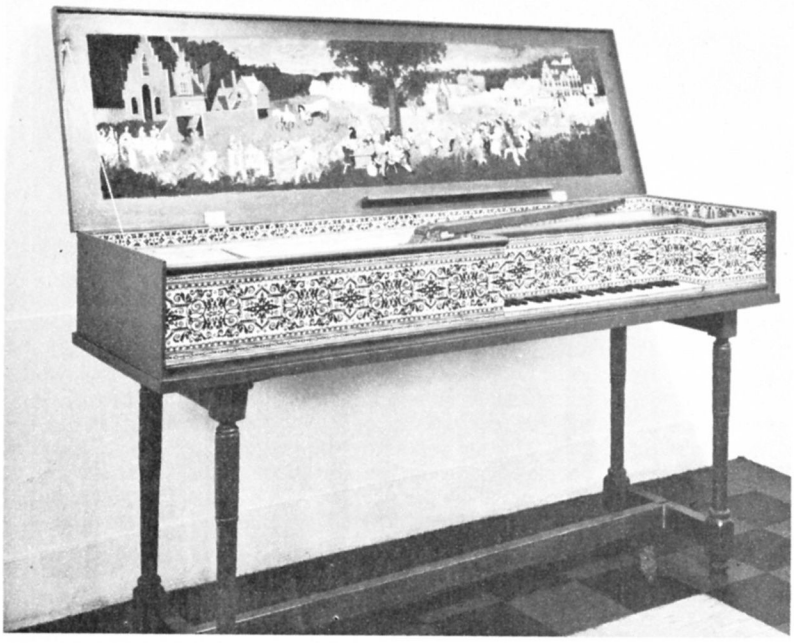
Prime Minister Trudeau's optimistic electioneering notwithstanding, most Canadians continue to maintain a wary watch on the economy. One nagging symptom of concern is the race to redeem Canada Savings Bonds. Battered by inflation, bondholders are eagerly trading in their Government chips to invest in higher-paying bank savings certificates and trust notes. Normally, Canada Savings Bonds are redeemed at a rate of $100 million per month. During May and June, as inflation soared, bond redemption climbed to $300 million per month, taking a sizable bite out of Government cash reserves.

A scheme announced in May by Finance Minister John Turner has only lately begun to stem the flood. To make Government bonds more attractive, Ottawa offered cash bonuses that lifted the average yield from 7.5% to 9% on bonds held to maturity. The Government agreed to treat the bonuses as capital gains for income tax purposes, then promoted the plan with a $600,000 advertising campaign. Despite these measures, redemptions for July are expected to reach $200 million.

There appears to be no easy solution available to the Government. Raising the rate on Canada Savings Bonds even further may attract funds away from private corporations that are already hard pressed for capital. Some analysts have suggested tying the Government bond rate to the cost of living index; others would peg it to private interest rate levels. A spokesman from a Toronto investment firm argues that the Government must stop making its customers hold bonds until maturity to benefit from the 9% rate. "Give the higher interest right away," he says, "and if it's competitive with current rates, people will buy." According to one securities analyst, whatever plan the Government devises will need "bells and whistles and a 10% coupon hung on it" to attract buyers.

Behind the façade of confidence now maintained by Government officials, there is evidence of real concern. Almost one third of the national debt is owed to holders of Canada Savings Bonds, and their defection threatens both the Government's reserves and the stability of the economy. Though the present redemption rate is slower than that of May and June, it is hardly a sign of rising confidence in Ottawa's economic policies.

FRED DOUGLAS



THE ARTS

Carving Their Own In B.C.

Baroque cellos, renaissance lutes and medieval psalteries have long been easier to find in museums than music shops. Thus, when a group of B.C. university students joined together six years ago to study and perform early European music, they lacked good examples of the intruments for which the music was written. They went on with others to form the Vancouver Society for Early Music, which obtained a Local Initiatives Program grant with which it was able to commission its own instruments. Today the society boasts 350 members, and its minor-scale commissioning experiment has blossomed into a successful instrument business. Recently, 50 of that craft movement's finest products were displayed at B.C.'s Burnaby Art Gallery.

Says Society Co-founder Ray Nurse, 27: "The composers of the day wrote music for the instruments of the day; they had certain sounds then, and we reproduce those sounds now." A musicologist trained at the University of British Columbia, Nurse played the lute as a youth, studied the instrument for a year in England, then toured Europe to learn about its design and construction. He now shares a workshop in Vancouver with two fellow instrument makers and can turn out one handmade lute every five weeks. Because of his additional activities as a lecturer and performer, Nurse is now a full year behind in meeting his orders.

Also attracted to early instruments was Michael Dunn, 31, a onetime auto mechanic who had spent two years in Europe studying the guitar and lute. Working from the bedroom of his small home in Gibsons, B.C., he now makes six or seven lutes a year, a dozen modern guitars, and is regarded by some musicians as the dean of B.C.'s instrument makers.

In all, more than a dozen artisans now operate in the Vancouver area, handcrafting such arcane instruments as the cornetto, hurdy-gurdy and spinet: all are made with careful attention to the design and details of the original instruments. Sometimes the craftsmen will add their own fanciful embellishments, such as the Breughel-like peasantscape painted by Ted Turner on the lid of a virginal made by Dunn. "I think the only difference in what I do and what they did in the early days is in the glue," says Dunn. "The modern stuff has about one tenth the setting time."

DAVE LOOY

TOP (FROM LEFT): DULCIMER, ANTON SMITH; VIRGINAL, E. R. TURNER & MICHAEL DUNN; BAROQUE GUITAR, MICHAEL DUNN. ABOVE: RICHARD HAWKINS & RAY NURSE IN A VANCOUVER WORKSHOP

Off the Beach. Wood poses one major problem. Nurse prefers European spruce and maple. Dunn is more relaxed. "Frankly, I get most of my stuff right off the local beach," he says, adding, "you never stop learning in this construction. You're always writing to museums or universities—people who have original pieces to get detail like the thickness of the wood, dimensions and photographs if possible."

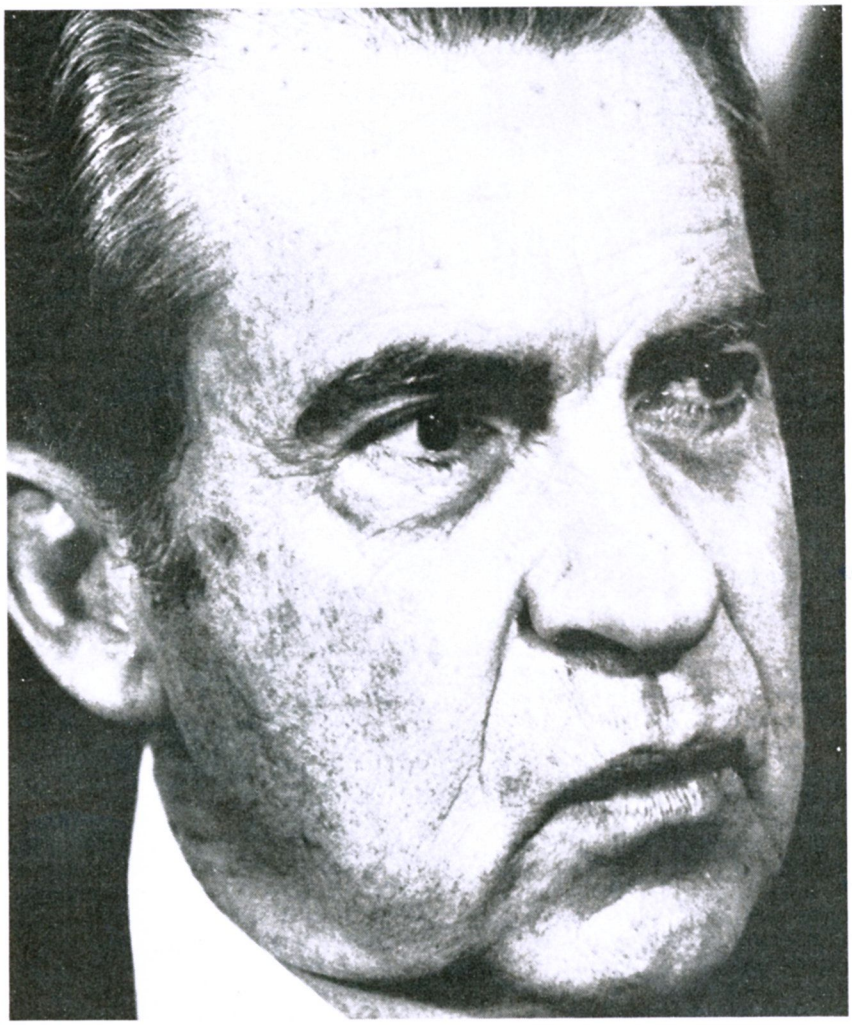
For now, Nurse and his colleagues are selling their products primarily to Canadian musicians. Says Celtic Harp Maker Tim Hobrough, 27, "I would actively discourage anybody buying just to get a fake antique." Because of the time involved in their construction, the Old World replicas often sell for New World prices—$600 and up for a lute, $6,000 for a double-manual harpsichord. Nevertheless, a good virginal is still hard to find, and the instrument makers seem to have tapped a growing market. Six early music ensembles are now associated with the society, which anticipates 19 sellout performances in its own concert series this fall and winter thanks to a growing coterie of fans, some of whom did not know a clavichord from a clavicle six years ago.

The Republicans' Moment of Truth

"As an individual, I have not the slightest bias against President Nixon. I would hope that I would not do him the smallest, slightest injury. But I am not indifferent, not indifferent to the matter of presidential abuse of power by whatever President . . . If in fact President Nixon or any President has had a central part in the planning and execution of this terrible deed of subverting the Constitution, then I shall do my part as best I can to bring him to answer before the Congress of the United States for his enormous crime in the conduct of his office . . . Members of the committee, for me to speak like this—I can hardly believe I am speaking as I do or thinking as I do—the awesomeness of this is so—so tremendous . . . "

Thus did John Doar address the 38 members of the House Judiciary Committee last week. It was indeed an awesome undertaking, but the awe could be exaggerated: it was after all a constitutional exercise in a republic whose chief of state serves by the will of the people. For seven months, Doar had served as the committee's special counsel, impartially—and rather ploddingly—weighing the masses of evidence placed before it. Last week, as he summarized the case, Doar became the advocate of impeachment, presenting 29 overlapping articles on which the case against the President could be based *(see story page 18)*. The committee is scheduled to start voting this week—the total number of articles will undoubtedly be reduced sharply—and a simple majority on any single article would be enough to impeach the President.

DAVID KENNERLY



RICHARD NIXON

Doar, a onetime Assistant Attorney General, who has worked night and day on the Watergate case and has become something of a walking encyclopedia on the subject, based his impeachment proposals on four general areas of misconduct, four general impeachable offenses:

▶ Obstruction of justice in the Watergate break-in and cover-up;

▶ Abuse of power in misusing federal agencies such as Internal Revenue and the FBI;

▶ Contempt of Congress in refusing subpoenas;

▶ Violation of constitutional duty (by illegal wiretaps, the Fielding break-in, etc.) to take care that the laws are faithfully executed.

Eloquent Assertion. Expanding on the subject in his address, Doar discussed the Nixon presidency: "You find yourself down in the labyrinth of the White House in that byzantine empire where yes meant no and go was stop and maybe meant certainty . . . But that is just the very nature of the crime: that in executing the means, everything will be done to confuse and to fool, to misconstrue so that the purpose of the decision is concealed.

"My judgment," he continued with controlled emotion, "is that the facts are overwhelming in this case that the President of the United States authorized a broad general plan of illegal electronic surveillance and that the plan was put into operation by his subordinates . . . But with respect to the plan, I say that decision came direct from the President or [was] implemented through his two closest associates, [H.R.] Haldeman and [John] Ehrlichman. Following that, I say that he directed, made the decision, the President made the decision to cover up this shortly after the break-in on June 17 [1972] and he's been in charge of the cover-up from that day forward."

Doar's unexpectedly eloquent assertion startled most committee members. He was joined in his call for impeachment by the minority counsel, Albert Jenner, who told the committee: "The issue now is whether that country and that Constitution are to be preserved." Some Republican members had already become discontented with Jenner during the ten weeks of closed hearings, however, and had asked his more or-

thodox assistant minority counsel, Sam Garrison, to deliver a reply to Doar early this week summarizing the case against impeachment.

It was only one sign of the dilemma that faces the 17 Republicans on the committee, the moment of truth that has finally arrived for them. Like the 21 Democrats, they must vote on the most serious American political question in a century—but they must also make a decision for or against their own party leader.

From San Clemente, where the President was vacationing, Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler—stressing that he was repeating Nixon's exact reaction—declared that Doar had at last "shed his false cloak of impartiality," revealing the committee as a "kangaroo court." Ziegler added that Chairman Peter Rodino, Counsel Doar and the "radicals" of the committee were making "a total shambles of what should have been a fair proceeding."

Besides the approaching impeachment battle, the vacationing President had the war in the Mediterranean to contend with last week (*see* THE WORLD). But for the most part he spent the sleepy summer days playing golf and swimming at San Clemente. His chief of staff, Alexander Haig, said the President believed "he's going to come out all right; I can tell it from his day-to-day demeanor."

Terrible Tension. Earlier, Nixon met with one of his staunchest backers, Rabbi Baruch Korff (*see story page 29*). In an interview, the President had called Watergate not nearly so bad as Teapot Dome, suggested that, except for the liberal bias of the press, it would have been a mere "blip," and remarked that Watergate is "the broadest but thinnest scandal in America because what was it about?"

To most Americans, including a great many Congressmen, this state of mind must have seemed strangely unreal. The President's supporters have defended him chiefly by arguing that he was not personally and directly responsible for the Watergate crimes—rather than by claiming that the crimes themselves were insignificant.

This week the U.S. and the world will get a further chance to evaluate that "blip." As a prelude to the voting, the Judiciary Committee's doors will be thrown open to the public and the press. If the House passes special legislation in time, television cameras may get in as well. The schedule calls for the members to begin a general debate on the proposed articles of impeachment at midweek and to start their historic vote by Friday or early next week.

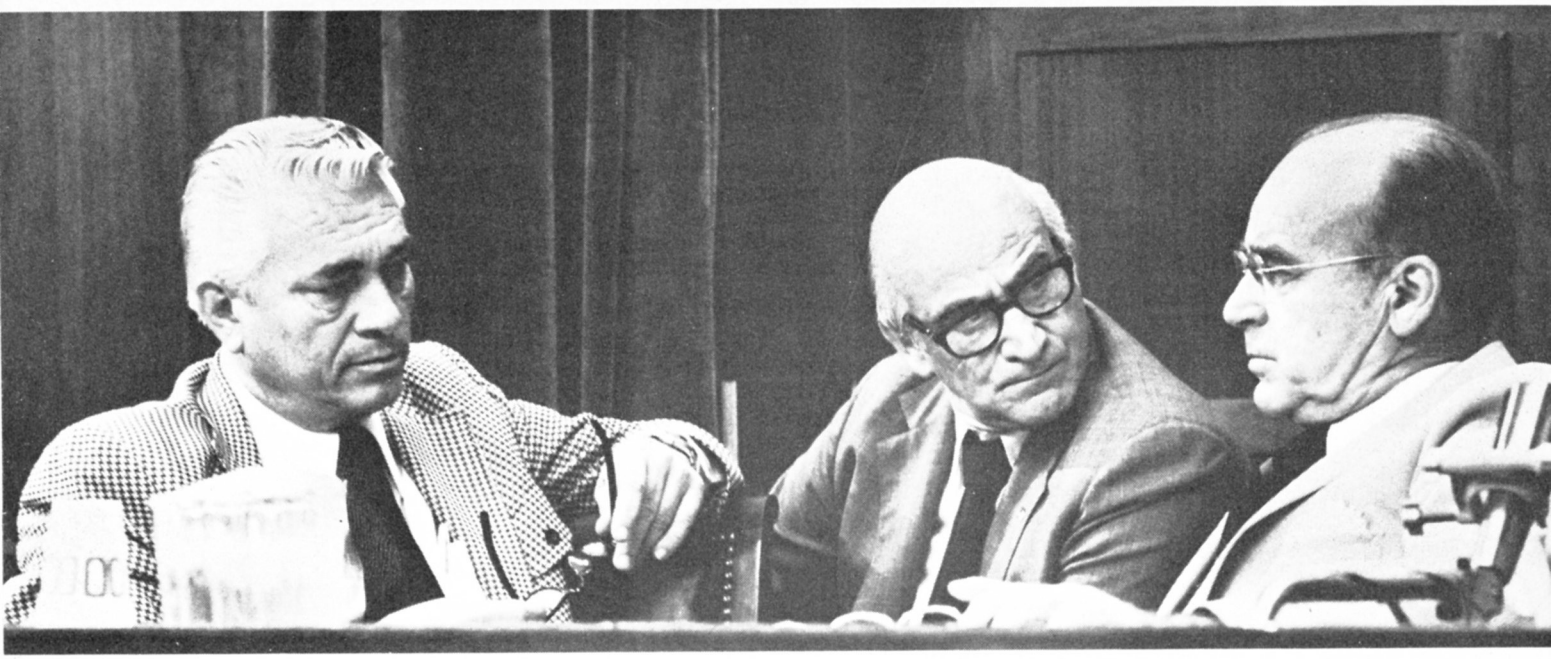
Most political observers in Washington believe that the committee will vote against the President and that the House of Representatives—probably late in August—will follow the committee's recommendation and impeach him. The Democrats, of course, have majorities in both the committee and the full House (248-187). But the size and character of the Judiciary Committee vote is regarded as a crucial factor in deciding whether the case against the President will also succeed in the Senate, where a two-thirds majority is required to convict the President and remove him from office.

DAVID KENNERLY

JOHN DOAR

A terrible tension has overtaken the corridors of the Capitol. The committee members are exhausted; an aide to one of them, Iowa Democrat Edward Mezvinsky, remarked last week that when the Congressman suddenly appears in his office during a brief recess, his staff feeds him and pampers him and then, like fight trainers, sends him back for the final rounds. From their home districts, the committee members have been getting advice, queries and open threats, and a bumper crop of mail.

House leaders of both parties have long recognized that by far the most critical votes on the Judiciary Committee are held by the 17 Republicans. Their votes will count heavily if and when the articles of impeachment reach the full House and a trial in the Senate. If the committee Republicans stand almost solidly against impeachment, a critical number of other G.O.P. Congressmen and Senators may be persuaded or pressured to do the same later on, and the President would stand a good chance of surviving in office. On the other hand, if four, five or even more of the committee Republicans support impeachment, other Republicans will find it easier to vote against the President



REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN WIGGINS (LEFT) WITH COLLEAGUES MARAZITI & DENNIS DURING BREAK IN JUDICIARY COMMITTEE HEARINGS

in the full House and the Senate.

For weeks G.O.P. leaders have been wooing the undecided Republicans on the committee and working overtime to keep the Nixon loyalists firmly in line. The party position is simply that Richard Nixon, a Republican President, deserves the support of Republican Congressmen. Party leaders delivered this message quite explicitly at a meeting of G.O.P. members of the Judiciary Committee last week. The sell was soft, since between five and eight members—the number varied by the day—were seriously considering impeachment. "I haven't twisted any arms," insisted Arizona's John Rhodes, the House minority leader, "and I'm not going to." He merely repeated the party position: the committee had found no "proof"—no "smoking pistol" in the President's hand —of a serious criminal act that demanded his removal from office.

Tougher Salesman. Much of the maneuvering within the party is very civilized. "It's the velvet glove approach," reported one wavering Republican on the committee. How is the pressure applied? "Why, simply by inviting us into John Rhodes' office," explained the same Republican. There, overlooking the great expanse of the Washington Mall, committee members who are still undecided can hardly help but feel the burden of Rhodes' casual and friendly manner. Said one visitor: "He's been very good to me."

A much tougher salesman is Minority Whip Leslie Arends, who says flatly: "Impeachment is purely a Democratic maneuver. We ought to recognize it as such and we ought to stand up as Republicans and oppose the whole scheme." Another is California's Charles Wiggins, who is the strongest Nixon supporter on the committee. "We're going to win this goddam thing," Wiggins declared last week. Not Nixon, but "we"—the party.

Of the 17 Republicans, seven were firmly opposed to impeachment as of last week's end. They were: Wiggins, Michigan's Edward Hutchinson, New Jersey's Charles Sandman and Joseph Maraziti, Mississippi's Trent Lott, California's Carlos Moorhead and Ohio's Delbert Latta. Three others were leaning against impeachment: Iowa's Wiley Mayne, New York's Henry P. Smith III and Indiana's David Dennis. The party leaders and Wiggins were working hard on them and the other members of the committee.

Wiggins, 46, is one Republican who will not be damaged by Watergate. His recently reapportioned district is strongly Republican: it lies entirely within Orange County and embraces Yorba Linda, where Nixon was born. The prevailing feeling about Watergate there, says one of Wiggins' aides, is: "Let's get it over with; we're tired of hearing about it." Most of his constituents probably agree with their erudite Congressman, who is considered one of the best lawyers on the committee, when he tells them, "I've read all the evidence, and there's not one shred of proof that links the Watergate to Richard Nixon."

He tells colleagues: "We're not sitting to make a moral assessment, except as it would relate to impeachment. Nor are we a political referendum on this Administration. Nor are we asked to express our likes and dislikes." He tells constituents: "If I can induce my colleagues to look at these charges as lawyers and not as politicians, I would be quite sanguine about the outcome."

Some committee Republicans disagree. Standing at the opposite pole from Wiggins is Maine's William Cohen, 33, the Republican most likely to vote in committee for impeachment. The son of a Jewish baker and an Irish mother, Cohen is a former mayor of Bangor and former assistant county attorney for Penobscot County. He was elected to Congress in 1972 after a vigorous campaign that included a 1,050-mile walk through the potato fields and logging towns of his huge district. "Billy's our fair-haired boy," says Richard Hewes, Maine's speaker of the house.

If Cohen votes for impeachment, his admiring constituents, by and large, will support him. Says G.O.P. State Chairman Harold Jones, a longtime Nixon supporter: "We can live with whatever Bill's decision is, if it is based on his search for the truth." Cohen himself vows: "I'm going to decide by only two things—the facts and the Constitution."

Goodbye to You. Next to Cohen, the Republican who seems most likely to support impeachment is Hamilton Fish Jr. His father was the famous isolationist Congressman of the World War II era, the man whom Franklin D. Roosevelt ridiculed in the 1940 political refrain, "Martin, Barton and Fish." Today the father serves on Rabbi Korff's anti-impeachment executive committee and has peppered his son with strongly worded letters arguing against impeachment. Fish's grandfather and great-grandfather also represented his district, which now runs from some of New York City's far northern suburbs to largely rural Dutchess County. This November Fish faces a strong challenge from an attractive Democrat, and if he votes for impeachment in committee, he could lose not only considerable support from hard-core Republicans but also the help of the party brass. Last month, for example, Vice President Gerald Ford visited Fish's district and told a crowd of party loyalists: "I can assure you that when the going gets tough, Ham is the kind of person I want on my side."

Probably two-thirds of Fish's constituents want Nixon out of office. The Congressman's offices have been flooded with mail, 80% of it in favor of impeaching the President. One letter writer was moved to doggerel: "I have one vote/ my wife makes two/ If Nixon stays in/ goodbye to you." As Fish sees it, the committee's job is "to preserve the institution [of the presidency] by testing the fitness of the current occupant of

BRACK—BLACK STAR

that office against the standard demanded by the Constitution."

Probably the most anguished member of the Judiciary Committee is Robert McClory, 66, the second-ranking Republican (after Hutchinson). He shrinks from the notion of impeachment. But he is deeply troubled about the President on two scores: Nixon's "defiance" of the House after promising to cooperate with it; and the fact that "so many White House people are pleading guilty, being convicted, going to jail." Obviously, McClory continues, "there was wrongdoing taking place right under the President's nose. Is that any way to run the White House?" So McClory swings back and forth, one day sounding his outrage at the dreadful deeds of the Nixon Administration and the next day expressing his hesitation to strike down a President—and a Republican one at that.

His highly conservative district, reaching north and west of Chicago into suburbs, rural areas and some small cities, is sharply split on the issue, and the party organization has been hitting him with anti-impeachment mail. But, while his rural counties are still solidly for Nixon, he finds that his city and suburban constituents are much more sympathetic to the idea of impeachment. The suburbanites, many of them devoted Republicans, write with a common theme: "I've been betrayed." McClory takes a dim view of party leaders who argue that a Republican should not vote against his President. "This is just not persuasive with me," he says, arguing that such a view conceivably could lead the G.O.P. to the fate of the Whigs: extermination.

Will he vote to impeach the President? "I'm not going to rule it out," he says, "because of the difficulty or because of the suicidal aspects involved." One morning last week, while eating breakfast, he got a scratch pad and began to scribble his own ideas for articles of impeachment that he could support. Exhausted and drained, he has wrestled with the Republican dilemma as much as any man on the committee. Two weeks ago, when he heard about the conviction of John Ehrlichman, whom he knew well and respected, McClory broke down and wept. "There'll be a lot of tears shed," he said later, "before we get through this thing."

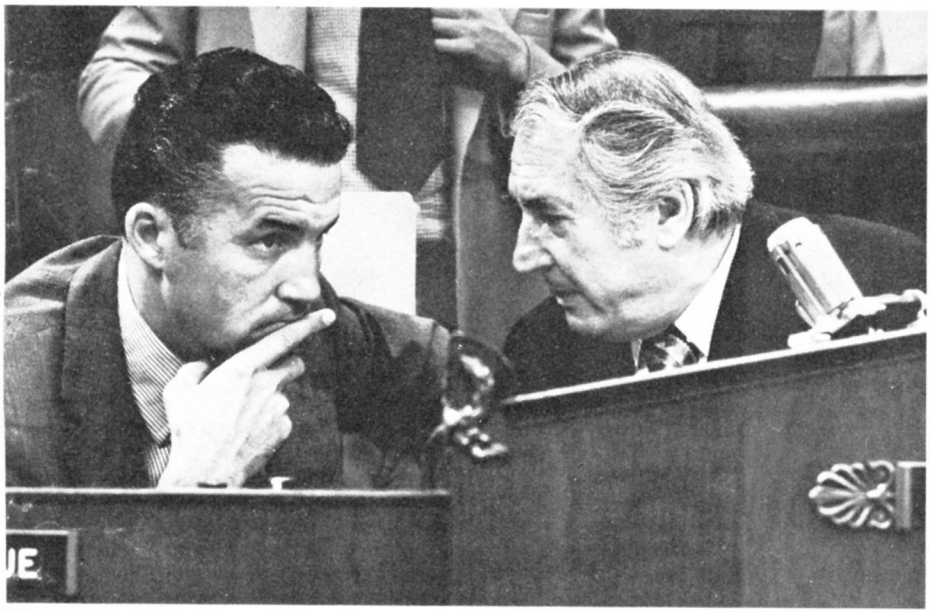
In addition, four other Republicans on the committee seemed last week to be seriously considering a vote for impeachment. The four:

Tom Railsback, 42, of Illinois, a fiercely independent lawyer from Moline, spends as much time as he can in his home district these days, plumbing the mood. Two weeks ago, for instance, he dedicated a park and a nursing home and appeared at a Mexican fiesta. He finds that, at such gatherings, impeachment has ceased to be the number one issue; inflation, corn and meat prices and flood relief are of more concern. But when asked about impeachment, his stock reply is that it is a wrenching issue, that he is going in with an open mind and will not decide until he has heard all the evidence.

Most of the pressure on Railsback has come from the party professionals. The G.O.P. organization in one county has refused to raise money for him until after the committee vote. Last month he was summoned to explain some television remarks to the Hancock County regulars. "It was a very tough meeting," Railsback said. Recently he held a beer-and-bratwurst party at his house for Rock Island precinct committeemen. At such gatherings, says a friend, "Tom emphasizes that he has been a good Republican, that he'll vote his conscience, and that the people will just have to go along with him on this one."

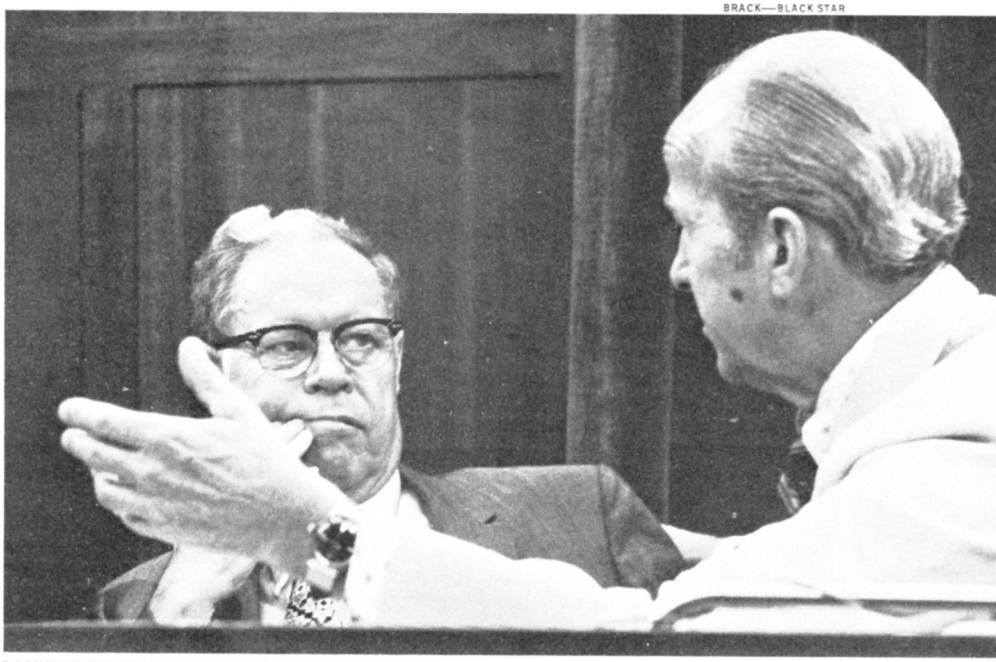
M. Caldwell Butler, 49, of Virginia was once as stout a Nixon supporter as almost any man in the House. In the beginning he thought the Judiciary Committee was made up of "a bunch of crazies" and that Chairman Peter Rodino was a big-city hack, but he changed his mind on both counts. Finally he concluded that if the President would not give the committee the required evidence, then he (Butler) would have to become something of a grand juror and vote on assumptions and known facts. He has kept his district (Roanoke, Lexington, Lynchburg) so well informed on the subject that, as one local editor puts it, "he has made being open-minded the 'In' thing around Roanoke."

Says Butler: "The strongest charge I'd be most tempted to vote for would



CONGRESSMEN SARBANES & RODINO

BRACK—BLACK STAR

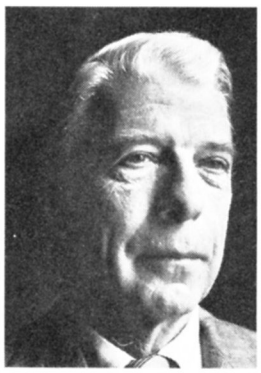


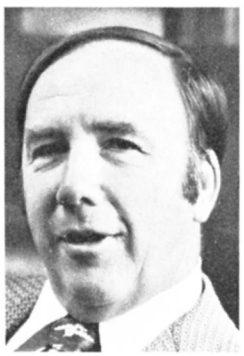
RANKING REPUBLICAN EDWARD HUTCHINSON (LEFT) WITH CONGRESSMAN ROBERT MCCLORY
There was wrongdoing taking place right under the President's nose.

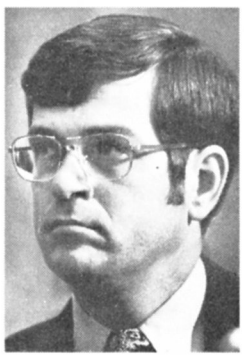
be an abuse of power catchall, provided the evidence could be found to support it. It's the whole pattern of conduct that bothers me, not one particular act ... The main problem is: What quantum of proof should be required?"

Some of the strongest pro-impeachment pressure he has received has come from his wife June, who for a while read to him at bedtime from *All the President's Men,* the best-selling account of the Watergate case by Washington *Post* Reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward.

Butler admits to being swung back and forth on the problem. "One day," he says, "my wife and I get the feeling that the President is being persecuted. The next day, all I can think about it is, 'How can all this be happening?' " He adds: "You have to live with your vote on this longer than anything else. Not just politically either—you have to live with yourself on it too."







Committee Republicans leaning against impeachment include Congressmen Smith and Mayne. On bottom row are four Republicans who strongly oppose impeachment: Sandman, Moorhead, Lott and Latta.

Lawrence J. Hogan, 45, has a problem of ambition: he is a Nixon loyalist, but he is also running for Governor of Maryland. Corruption is a particularly bitter issue in Maryland this year, at both the state and federal level, and the general view is that Hogan can win the governorship only if he votes for impeachment. Many of his colleagues expect him to do so.

Harold Froehlich, 42, who has represented Wisconsin's 8th District for the past two years, is not particularly popular at home. In 1972 he defeated the Democratic candidate, Robert Cornell, a Jesuit priest, by a scant 3,800 votes —and Cornell has been running again ever since. Whichever way Froehlich votes on impeachment (probably for), he is in danger of losing out to his Democratic opponent this time.

With the end so nearly in sight, committee members were trying to solve the dilemma of impeachment once and for all. There were stirrings from among the committee's Southern Democrats, who include three leaning toward impeachment but not yet counted solidly for it: Alabama's Walter Flowers, South Carolina's James Mann and Arkansas' Ray Thornton. One potentially significant development was that Flowers and Mann scheduled a private meeting for early this week with five or six of the "swing-vote" Republicans. The purpose: to determine whether there are grounds on which all of these moderates could accept certain articles of impeachment. As TIME's congressional correspondent Neil MacNeil reported: "The Yanks and the Rebs are 'changin' tobac' across the lines—and this is of the greatest moment, for these members hold the fate of impeachment in their votes."

At last week's end, then, ten committee Republicans were either solidly against impeachment or leaning in that direction. Two were for impeachment, and five were leaning that way. Considering all the pressure on them and the fact that many of the members have been leaping back and forth almost by the minute, it seemed unlikely that all men would vote according to their leanings of last week. But if they do, seven Republicans may vote for impeachment, *v.* ten against. In addition, one or two Southern Democrats may vote against impeachment. If all that happens, the vote in the committee would be about 26 for impeachment, *v.* twelve against —a heavy blow to the President.

Clear and Convincing. From the beginning, the Judiciary Committee has tried without success to decide exactly what constitutes an impeachable offense. Now the core of the debate has shifted to the question of what level of proof should be required. Most Democrats cling to the "grand jury analogy," maintaining that the House need find only the "probable cause" of presidential gross misconduct. Some Republicans, on the other hand, are holding out for a "beyond-all-reasonable-doubt" interpretation—the same standard supposedly used by ordinary juries in determining criminal guilt or innocence. Last week a remarkable consensus was reached within the committee. After the President's defense counsel, James St. Clair, suggested "clear and convincing" as a standard of evidence for the committee, Doar thought over the proposal for a day and agreed. "Clear and convincing," he felt, was a sort of a midway compromise between "probable cause" and "beyond reasonable doubt."

As the voting approached last week, most of the Republicans on the committee were still insisting on final testimony that would somehow produce the "smoking pistol" that would enable them to resolve all their doubts and those of their constituents. It did not. In his closing remarks, St. Clair offered the committee an edited 2½-page transcript from a 90-minute tape in which Nixon purportedly told H.R. Haldeman, on March 22, 1973: "I don't mean to be blackmailed by [E. Howard] Hunt —that goes too far." This, declared St. Clair, demonstrated that Nixon had ruled out a blackmail payment to Hunt —one day after his celebrated conversation with John Dean and Haldeman, in which Nixon ordered the payment by saying, "For Christ's sakes, get it."

Instant Enmity. St. Clair's introduction of this snippet from a tape Nixon had withheld was a blunder because it renewed the committee members' resentment at the President's defiance of their lawful authority. Chairman Rodino angrily reminded St. Clair that in rejecting the subpoenas for transcripts of the March 22 conversation and 146 others, the President explained: "The committee [already] has the full story of Watergate." Hogan remarked that it was "a little late" to offer the evidence, and George Danielson, a California Democrat, declared later that he had not heard a word of the brief quote because "I was shouting louder than St. Clair." Further scrutiny revealed that the conversation in question had apparently taken place on or after March 23 rather than March 22, as the White House had indicated.* On the whole, however, committee members seemed to feel St. Clair had done a creditable job, and thought that he could have done better with a weak case if he had not been held in tight rein by the President.

Though the Judiciary Committee has not yet voted, leaders of both parties are looking forward to the vote in the full House and are counting noses

*On the 2½-page transcript, Nixon remarked, "The judge gave him 35 years." Apparently he was referring to G. Gordon Liddy, who was sentenced by Judge John Sirica on March 23.

among all the 435 Congressmen. House Democratic Floor Leader Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill and his lieutenants are trying to woo the undecided Republicans by waging as low-key and nonpartisan a campaign as possible. At the same time, the Democrats have been concerned about keeping their own ranks together, particularly among the Southerners. Some conservatives, like John Flynt of Georgia and Otto Passman of Louisiana, could never be induced to oppose the President; but others, like Jack Brooks of Texas, would as soon throw Nixon out of office as swat a horsefly.

For the Republicans, on the other hand, the fight has been uphill from the beginning. Floor Leader Rhodes started out by trying to keep his distance from the White House and at one point even suggested that Richard Nixon should consider resigning. This earned him the instant enmity of Nixon loyalists, and Rhodes quickly adopted a more loyalist line.

The Republicans realize that they are in a no-win fight. More than ever, as a result of Watergate, they are the minority party. According to a Gallup poll last week, the number of Americans who now regard themselves as Republicans has dropped to 23%—down from 28% two years ago and the lowest number since Gallup began asking the question in 1940 (44% call themselves Democrats, and 33% are independents). The November election promises to be a disaster. The party leadership fully expects, for example, to lose all seven of the House seats that the Republicans presently hold in New Jersey. Many a Republican candidate this fall will be fatally torn between trying to hold his Republican supporters and at the same time appealing to the independent voters he needs to win.

Hateful Prospect. The party strategy in the House is to continue branding the impeachment battle a purely partisan affair.

Only one House Republican leader, John Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House G.O.P. caucus, is openly for impeachment, but the House leadership is hopeful that in the end he will submit to party discipline. "John has ambitions," says one of his colleagues, knowing that Anderson had wanted to run for the U.S. Senate this year but decided to back down because of the Watergate scandal's effect upon Republican election prospects. "It would be a blot on his Republican credentials. They'd never forget. The party faithful have never forgiven Nelson Rockefeller for not supporting Goldwater in 1964." The other side is that many ordinary Republican voters, feeling shocked and shamed by Nixon, might not forgive a Congressman who votes to retain him in office in 1974. Particularly for Congressmen from those cities and suburbs where Nixon's support is lowest, a vote for impeachment may be good politics. Ultimately what most of the nation wants is for impeachment to be decided not as a matter of partisanship but of law and conscience.

Looking ahead to the full House vote, Tip O'Neill estimated last week that 39 Democrats at present oppose impeachment and 39 Republicans support it. Thus, if the vote were held now, he reckoned the House would impeach the President by a roll call of about 248 to 187—a margin of 61 votes. But the outcome in the Senate, where the two-thirds majority is required, remains very much in doubt. Before it gets that far, of course, the Judiciary Committee must complete its business.

According to Chairman Rodino's timetable, the committee will hold its open debate between this Wednesday and Saturday, then vote by Saturday night. But the procedure is complicated because members must vote on each of the articles on which an impeachment would be based, so the voting could be delayed until early next week. Rodino hopes to have his impeachment report finished and delivered to the Rules Committee by Aug. 7 or 8, thereby allowing it to be ready for debate on the floor of the House on Aug. 15, the day agreed upon by the Democratic leadership.

One other event, however, could throw this timetable awry: the pending decision of the Supreme Court on whether the President must turn over the 64 subpoenaed tapes to Judge John Sirica. If the court should order the President to surrender this material and if he should agree to hand over all or part of it, the committee might decide to delay its vote until it could review the new evidence, although the Democratic leadership does not intend at this point to delay the House proceedings for any reason. A number of Republicans would be all too glad to decide the case on stronger evidence. If the President should refuse to surrender the evidence, they would be greatly relieved to be able to tell their constituents, "The President has defied the court and thus must be impeached."

But the chances are that the voting will take place at week's end—or soon thereafter. At its worst, the experience for some Republicans may be similar to that of Congressman Edmund Ross who, while considering his vote on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson a century ago, realized that no matter what he did, his vote would cost him his career: he was looking, he said, into the grave of his political ambition. But even though impeachment is extremely painful to institutions and individuals, its avoidance under certain circumstances could be far more destructive to a democratic society. As Congressman Butler put it last week, "I truly hate the prospect of impeaching the President of the United States. But I'd also hate for the record to condone all that abuse of power that has come to light."

Republican committee members leaning toward impeachment include (top row) Congressmen Cohen, Railsback; center row: Hogan, Froehlich, Butler, Fish. On bottom row are Southern Democrats Thornton, Flowers and Mann, who are uncertain but also leaning toward impeachment.

ART
BEHAVIOR
BOOKS
CANADA
CINEMA
ECONOMY
EDUCATION
ENVIRONMENT
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MEDICINE
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The Charges: Articles of Impeachment

Resolved, that Richard M. Nixon has violated the duties and abused the powers of the Office of President of the United States of America. He has ignored his oath to execute the Office faithfully and to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States by conducting the Office for his personal pecuniary benefit and political advantage, misleading and deceiving the people of the United States and their elected representatives in Congress, and by subverting the principles of constitutional government. He has breached his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed by willfully ignoring the laws and by endeavoring to impede and obstruct their proper execution. In all this, he has committed high crimes and misdemeanors in the conduct of his Office, for which the House of Representatives do impeach him.

So begins a proposed set of articles of impeachment presented to the House Judiciary Committee last week by its special counsel, John Doar, and minority counsel, Albert E. Jenner Jr. Indeed, there are so many specific allegations against the President that five different sets of impeachment articles were prepared by the staff and a few Congressmen on the committee. The staff's aim was to give the members most of the possible choices. The committee will apparently pick and choose from all five sets as it makes its historic decisions.

The five approaches to drawing up the articles vary mainly in how specific such articles should be and which presidential acts should be considered evidence of a violation of a particular duty imposed on the President by the Constitution. All sets, however, avoid the issue of whether a President can be impeached only for an indictable criminal offense, as Nixon's lawyers insist, or whether he can also be impeached on the broader ground of failure to carry out the duties of his office, as most constitutional scholars hold: each set of articles includes both kinds of impeachable acts.

There are no fewer than 29 proposed articles of impeachment in the five sets; many of them duplicate others but are put in a different framework. Recurring as the predominant broad charges against the President are these:

1) He violated his constitutional duty to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

2) He obstructed the administration of justice.

3) He abused the powers of his office by misusing agencies of Government for his own political or pecuniary gain.

4) He defied lawful subpoenas from both the Judiciary Committee and the courts by making a claim of Executive privilege that was offered "in bad faith" and was in reality intended to conceal evidence damaging to him.

The committee's impeachment debate probably will center on the more specific allegations of presidential misconduct. They arise from:

1) The cover-up of White House involvement in the Watergate wiretapping-burglary.

2) The attempt to "defame" Pentagon Papers Defendant Daniel Ellsberg with information obtained by a burglary of the office of his psychiatrist.

3) The firing of the first Watergate Special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox, for persisting in seeking evidence from the President.

4) Nixon's "willful" evasion of income taxes.

5) His use of public funds to enhance the value of his personal property at Key Biscayne and San Clemente.

Also cited prominently in the proposed articles of impeachment are the President's alleged attempts to use the Internal Revenue Service to harass political enemies, his willingness to install Richard Kleindienst as Attorney General even after Kleindienst testified falsely before a Senate committee in order to conceal a conversation with the President, and the wiretapping of a number of Government officials and newsmen for political purposes.

One set of proposed articles, prepared by Doar, presents the most concise case against the President in four charges. The language is direct and harsh. Excerpts:

ARTICLE 1. "Beginning almost immediately after the [Watergate] burglary, and continuing up to the present time, Richard M. Nixon, using the powers of his high office, acting directly and personally and through his personal agents at the seat of Government and their immediate subordinates, has made it his policy to cover up and conceal responsibility for the burglary, the identity of other participants and the existence and scope of related unlawful covert activities.

"The means of implementing this policy have included the subornation of perjury, the purchase of silence of those directly participating in the burglary, the obstruction of justice, the destruction of evidence, improper and unlawful interference with the conduct of lawful investigation by the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Office of the Special Prosecutor, improper and unlawful misuse of other agencies of the Exec-

continued on page 19

utive Branch, including the CIA, and the release of deliberately false and misleading statements from the White House and by the President. For all this Richard M. Nixon is personally and directly responsible. For his part in it he has been found by a duly constituted grand jury in the District of Columbia to have participated in a criminal conspiracy to obstruct justice, but not indicted solely by reason of his office as President, leaving the pursuit of justice no recourse but through the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office granted to the Congress."

ARTICLE 2. "On Sept. 3, 1971, agents of the White House, on behalf of Richard M. Nixon and solely in the interest of obtaining information to be used by him and his agents in public defamation of Daniel Ellsberg, unlawfully committed burglary at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist, in Los Angeles, Calif. The agents who committed this crime were part of a special unit established in the White House at the direction of Richard M. Nixon to engage in such unlawful covert activities, were supervised directly by John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President, and were financed in part by the unlawful conversion of funds raised for campaign purposes and controlled on behalf of the President by Special Counsel to the President Charles Colson. The burglary was part of a pattern of massive and persistent abuse of power for political purposes involving unlawful and unconstitutional invasion of the rights and privacy of individual citizens of the United States."

ARTICLE 3. "Richard M. Nixon has refused without cause to comply with the subpoenas [from the Judiciary Committee], in contempt of the Congress and of the cause of constitutional government, leaving the process with no recourse but through the exercise of the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office that are granted to the Congress."

ARTICLE 4. "In his tax returns for the taxable years 1969 through 1972, Richard M. Nixon claimed deductions of approximately $500,000 based on the claimed deed of his vice-presidential papers to the United States. These claims constituted a fraud upon the United States because they were based on a deed prepared in March 1970 but backdated to March 1969 in order to appear to be effective prior to the date set by statute, July 1969, for disallowing such deductions for the future. The investigation of this fraud by the Internal Revenue Service and the staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation remained incomplete and inconclusive, and a normal use of criminal process was rendered ineffective, solely by reason of the fact that Richard M. Nixon was President of the United States and that impeachment proceedings against him had been instituted, thus leaving the fair enforcement of the tax laws no recourse but through the exercise of the constitutional powers of impeachment and removal from office that are granted to the Congress of the United States."

Under a general charge of obstructing "the investigation and prosecution of criminal acts committed against the people of the United States," another set of articles cites the following alleged presidential actions:

- Authorizing payment of money to Convicted Watergate Burglar E. Howard Hunt in order to "induce" Hunt to "refuse to cooperate with law enforcement agencies and prosecutors."
- Destroying evidence that was related to the investigation of the Watergate burglary.
- Withholding evidence from that investigation.
- Offering Executive clemency "to persons in return for their withholding vital information and evidence of criminal activities."
- Inducing witnesses "to submit untruthful statements and testimony."
- Improperly disclosing grand jury information to his associates.
- Withholding evidence in the Ellsberg trial and offering an FBI post to the presiding judge in that trial.

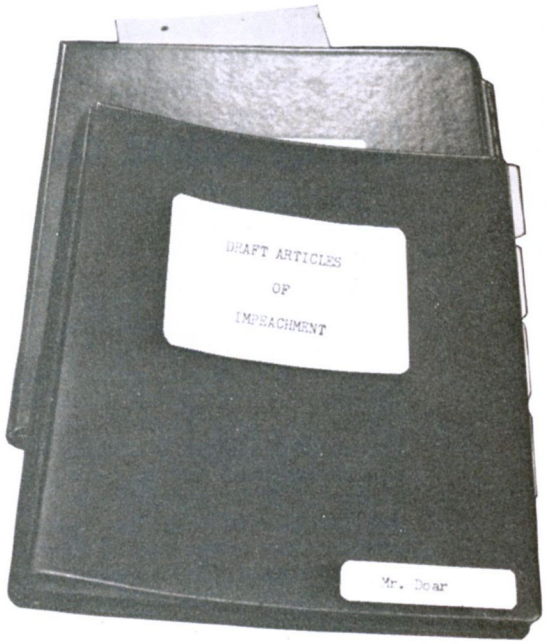
The same set of articles lists another series of offenses under the general classification of subverting the processes of the Federal Government. They include instructing CIA officials to interfere with the FBI's investigation of the Watergate burglary, directing IRS officials to harass his political opponents, promising ambassadorships in return for political contributions, and creating the secret White House plumbers unit.

This set of articles includes two charges that have received relatively little attention so far but appear with surprising frequency in the proposed articles now under discussion. They deal with misleading public statements made by the President and his appointment of Kleindienst as Attorney General. The wording of these proposed charges:

"That Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, did make and permitted others to make dishonest and misleading statements to the United States Congress, officials of the Executive Branch of the United States Government and to the people of the United States.

"Richard M. Nixon did confirm in a public statement his belief in the honesty and integrity of Richard Kleindienst, his nominee for Attorney General, knowing at that time that said Richard Kleindienst had presented untruthful testimony to the Senate Judiciary Committee."

A proposed article on the President's use of federal funds for improving his private property is expressed as follows: "He directed the Secret Service to authorize certain expenditures as necessary for the personal protection of the President, and directed the General Services Administration to make such expenditures and others from Government funds, for improvements and maintenance to properties owned by him, knowing that such expenditures were beyond the authority of these agencies and were for his personal benefit, in violation of Article 2, Section 1, Clause 6 of the Constitution, which prohibits the President from receiving any emolument from the United States, other than a fixed compensation for his services, during his term of office." The proposed



DOAR'S COPY OF DRAFT ARTICLES
Plenty of choices.

articles also mention, but with less emphasis, Nixon's secret approval of U.S. bombing in Cambodia and his impoundment of congressionally appropriated funds. He is also charged with "bribery" in raising milk-price supports after being assured of large campaign contributions by dairy producers.

The wording of impeachment articles also makes clear that when—and if—the House approves them they will not necessarily be its final word on this historic topic. Concludes one set of articles: "The House of Representatives saves to itself the liberty of exhibiting at any time further articles or other accusations or impeachment against the said Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, of replying to the answers he may make to the articles preferred against him, and of offering proof to each and every part of these articles and of any additional articles, accusations or impeachment, as the case may require."

More Evidence: Huge Case for Judgment

Still more evidence—15 volumes in all—poured from the House Judiciary Committee last week, covering the far-flung aspects of the impeachment proceedings. The evidence documented the misuse of the IRS *to intimidate political opponents, the widespread surveillance of Government officials and newsmen and the raising of milk prices after the promise of a $2 million campaign contribution from dairymen. But the President seemed to be cleared of charges that he had forced a settlement of an antitrust suit against ITT in return for a pledge of up to $400,000 contribution to the G.O.P. National Convention. He tried to order the Justice Department to drop the suit, however, because businessmen were unhappy about the Administration's temporarily aggressive antitrust policy. Buttressing a narrative of events was an impressive array of documents, including previously undisclosed transcripts of White House tapes, grand jury and congressional testimony, memos from the White House and federal agencies, letters, logs and phone conversations. It all added up to the most massive case made against any political figure in the history of the nation.*

Using Taxes as Weapons

The Judiciary Committee's 440-page book of evidence on the Nixon Administration's repeated attempts to use the nation's tax-collecting machinery to harass political opponents and reward political friends shows an unprecedented abuse of the Internal Revenue Service. The White House targets for tax punishment ranged from such respected organizations as the Ford Foundation and Brookings Institution to such radical groups as Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Panthers. A variety of individuals selected for special scrutiny included Lieut. General James M. Gavin, Washington Lawyer Clark Clifford, Economist Walter W. Heller and Actress Shirley MacLaine (all were Democrats). The intended harassment, which began early in the Nixon Administration, was often blocked by the men Nixon himself had appointed commissioners of the Internal Revenue Service or by Treasury Department officials. Though bullied by top White House aides, these men often insisted that the integrity of nonpartisan application of tax laws must be protected and that political use of tax information on individuals not only violated privacy but also violated federal law governing the IRS. Nonpolitical audits are of course commonplace. Many taxpayers are routinely audited in random checks of their returns, or because some part of their filing does not fit normal patterns and is detected and flagged by computers.

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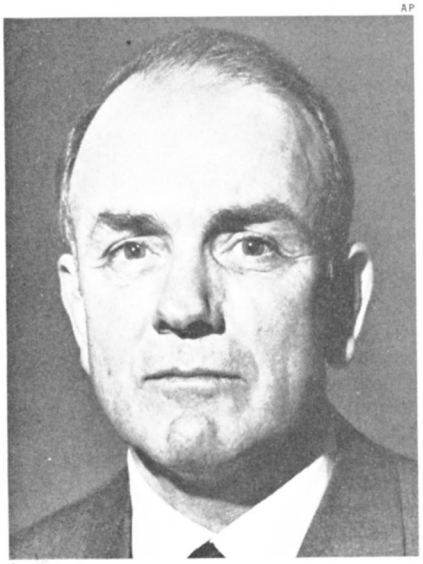


FORMER IRS HEAD THROWER
Bullied and pressured.

Nixon's first two IRS commissioners both felt so strongly about the White House pressure that they threatened to quit rather than carry out the orders of his aides. The first, Randolph W. Thrower, objected in 1970 to one White House scheme on the ground that it might create "a personal police force" within IRS. His successor, Johnnie M. Walters, protested late in 1972 that another White House proposal would have been "disastrous for IRS and for the Administration and would make the Watergate affair look like a Sunday-school picnic." Obviously out of favor with the President, both commissioners finally quit.

Thrower's warning about a personal police force was in response to the President's attempt to appoint a secret investigator for the White House, John Caulfield, as the top enforcement official of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and to take that post out of the normal chain of command in IRS. Caulfield, a former New York City police detective, was then performing such White House chores as supervising a sporadic surveillance of Senator Edward Kennedy and wiretapping the home of Columnist Joseph Kraft. Thrower fended off the Caulfield appointment.

Commissioner Walters was similarly incensed when he was summoned to the office of then Presidential Counsel John Dean on Sept. 11, 1972, given a list of 579 members of Democratic Candidate George McGovern's campaign staff and contributors to his funds, and instructed by Dean to investigate their taxes in a way that would "not cause ripples." The list included Gavin, Heller, Clifford and MacLaine, as well as former IRS Commissioner Mortimer M. Caplin, Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire, Entertainers Polly Bergen, Joanne Woodward, Paul Newman, Gene Hackman, *Playboy* Publisher Hugh Hefner and former Diplomat Angier Biddle Duke. Walters told Dean it would be "disastrous" for the IRS to act on this request. He also protested to then Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz and, according to an affidavit given to the Judiciary Committee, Walters said: "Mr. Shultz looked briefly at the list and said do nothing with respect to it." Despite intense further prodding from Dean, Shultz and Walters refused to order tax audits of the McGovern supporters.

Sometimes the President's aides were more successful. On Sept. 21, 1970, Nixon Aide Tom Huston wrote a memo reminding the President's chief of staff, H.R. Haldeman, that Nixon had "indicated a desire for IRS to move against leftist organizations taking advantage of tax shelters." Huston advised that "what we cannot do in a courtroom via criminal prosecutions to curtail the activities of some of these groups, IRS could do by administrative action."

Huston attached a report by Commissioner Thrower indicating that a "special-service group" had been set up within IRS to check on extremist organizations "on the right or left," including the leftist S.D.S. as well as right-wing groups like the Ku Klux Klan. This special-service group had compiled financial information on some 1,025 organizations and 4,300 individuals and had recommended "enforcement action" against 26 groups and 43 persons. As a result, eight organizations were denied their previous tax-exempt status. Thrower advised Huston that "knowledge of the existence and operations of this group should be carefully limited."

The White House failed in its desire to harass the Ford Foundation and the Brookings Institution. Dean complained in a July 20, 1971, memo that Commissioner Walters was reluctant "to make discreet politically oriented decisions" and that "purposeful delay appears to be the chosen bureaucratic tact [sic]." Arguing that both Ford and Brookings engaged in "either direct or indirect political activity [which] represents

I.R.S. is a monstrous bureaucracy, which is dominated and controlled by Democrats. The I.R.S. bureaucracy has been unresponsive and insensitive to both the White House and Treasury in many areas.

Excerpt from IRS *talking paper referring to "Democratic control" of the agency.*

Walters must be made to know that discreet political actions and investigations on behalf of the Administration are a firm requirement and responsibility on his part.

Passage in IRS *talking paper discussing policy changes that Walters should make.*

formidable opposition to the best interests of this Administration," Dean urged that the President order John Connally, then Treasury Secretary, to attack tax-exempt foundations generally in a major speech. If he would not do so, Dean advised, Vice President Spiro Agnew could use a "hard-hitting" and specific speech already prepared by Nixon Aide Patrick Buchanan for that purpose. Dean further offered to "turn the spigot off" on Government contracts to Brookings. In the end, however, no contracts were canceled.

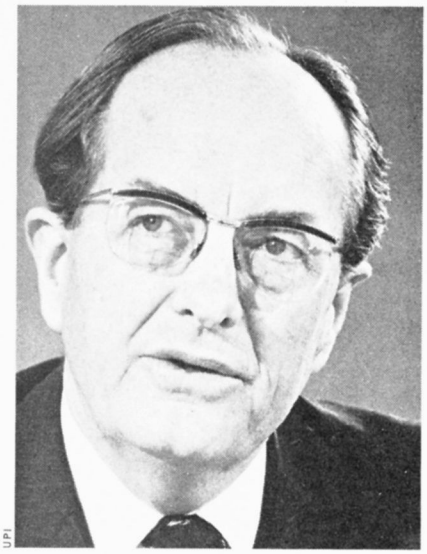
Getting tax information on individuals was relatively easy for the White House aides. Haldeman was able to obtain a "status report" on Gerald Wallace, brother of Alabama Governor George Wallace, in early 1970. Haldeman told Clark Mollenhoff, then a Special Counsel to the President (since returned to his reporting job for the Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune*), to acquire the information, and Mollenhoff agreed after being assured by Haldeman that Nixon wanted it. Mollenhoff got it from Assistant IRS Commissioner Donald W. Bacon. The report, which claimed that Gerald Wallace might have failed to report kickbacks from state liquor sales and federal highway contracts, was then leaked to Columnist Jack Anderson by a source "at the highest White House level," said Mollenhoff in a Judiciary Committee affidavit. The aim apparently was to impair George Wallace's re-election prospects in hopes of removing him from the 1972 presidential race. Anderson claims that he received the tax report from Murray Chotiner, a Nixon adviser who died early this year. Disclosing such tax information is a criminal offense.

Repeatedly bypassing the reluctant IRS commissioners, Dean, Caulfield and other Nixon aides often got tax information from Assistant Commissioner Vernon Acree, whom Nixon later promoted to Commissioner of Customs. According to Caulfield's secret testimony to the Senate Watergate committee, Acree told him how tax audits could be initiated by writing anonymous letters to the IRS. Acree followed such a procedure himself, according to Caulfield, in 1971 when the White House wanted a tax investigation made of *Newsday* Editor Robert Greene, who had written a series of articles exposing some financial dealings of C.G. ("Bebe") Rebozo, Nixon's closest friend. Greene was audited by New York State tax authorities after New York and IRS officials had exchanged information.

In an attempt to find out through tax audits in 1971 whether Actor John Wayne, a supporter of the President, was being unfairly treated by IRS, Caulfield secured tax-status reports from Acree on such other cinema celebrities as Richard Boone, Sammy Davis Jr., Jerry Lewis, Peter Lawford, Fred MacMurray, Lucille Ball and Frank Sinatra, as well as on California Governor Ronald Reagan. After comparing these reports with Wayne's treatment by IRS, Caulfield concluded that "the Wayne complaint . . . does not appear to be strong enough to be pursued." The same Acree-to-Caulfield connection gave the White House information on a 1971 IRS investigation of the Rev. Billy Graham's taxes. Dean sent Caulfield's findings along to Haldeman with the notation, "Can we do anything to help? . . ." In a response that has never been explained, Haldeman wrote: "No—it's already covered."

The most brazen attempted use of the tax power by the White House was its persistent effort to destroy the reputation of Democratic National Chairman Larry O'Brien just before the 1972 election. Not only was O'Brien's phone bugged (in the Watergate break-in, the device failed to work), but John Ehrlichman, Nixon's top domestic aide, conceded in secret testimony to the Senate Watergate committee: "I wanted them [IRS officials] to turn up something and send him to jail before the election."

Apparently on its own initiative, IRS began looking into O'Brien's tax status when it learned from its investigation of Billionaire Howard Hughes' income taxes in late 1971 or early 1972 that O'Brien had received "fairly substantial amounts of money" from Hughes. O'Brien concedes that he was paid roughly $180,000 for public relations work he did for Hughes. According to Walters, Ehrlichman asked Secretary Shultz to get the IRS to find out if this money had been properly reported. At Shultz's request, the IRS checked and found that O'Brien had reported it for the years 1970 and 1971, had paid "a small deficiency" and that "the examinations were closed."



UPI

FORMER IRS HEAD WALTERS
Offended and upset.

Ehrlichman was angry at IRS response and insisted that tax agents interview O'Brien again before the election. They did so, reporting no damaging information. When Ehrlichman learned of this, he scolded Walters in a phone call on Aug. 29, 1972. With Shultz listening in on Walters' line, Ehrlichman told Walters: "I'm goddam tired of your foot-dragging tactics." Reported Walters to the Judiciary Committee: "I was offended and very upset . . . Following the telephone conversation, I told Secretary Shultz that he could have my job any time he wanted it." Though Shultz wanted him to stay, Walters quit on April 30, 1973.

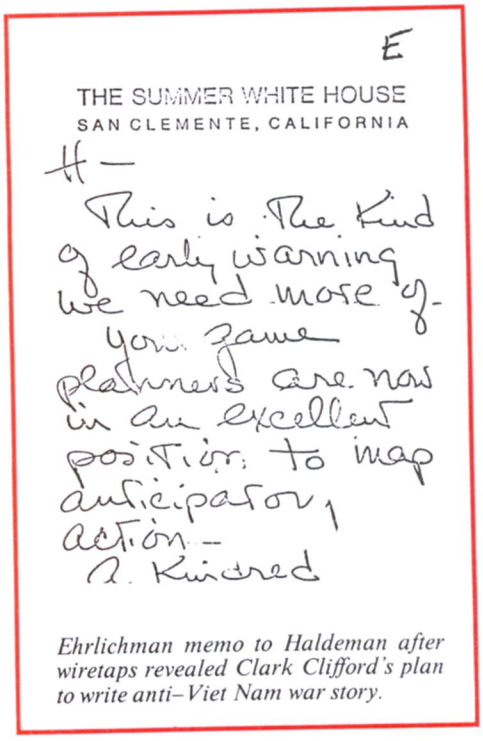
The Judiciary Committee is greatly interested in whether Nixon knew of these tactics to manipulate the IRS. There is evidence that he did. The released tape transcripts show that Nixon told Dean on Sept. 15, 1972, to keep notes "on all those who tried to do us in" because "they are asking for it and they are going to get it." On March 13, 1973, Nixon seemed to be offering the use of the IRS to investigate the financing of McGovern's campaign and raised no objection when Dean said that he already had access to such information from IRS.

Earlier, when Commissioner Thrower told then Treasury Secretary David Kennedy in January 1971 that he planned to resign, Thrower asked for a chance to protest to Nixon "about White House attitudes toward the IRS." Kennedy said he would arrange a meeting with the President, but according to Thrower, "Haldeman told him that the President did not like such conferences." Persisting, Thrower expressed his concern to Attorney General John Mitchell, warning that "any suggestion of the introduction of political influence into the IRS would be very damaging to him [Nixon] and his Administration, as well as to the revenue system and the general public interest." Thrower said he next got a call from Nixon's appointments secretary, Dwight Chapin, who reported that Mitchell had passed along Thrower's complaint and therefore no conference with the President was necessary. "Thereupon," said Thrower, "I submitted my resignation."

Still resenting his experience with the White House, former Commissioner Walters last week explained what he felt had been at stake in his dispute with Nixon's aides. "The very base of the democratic way of life and the republican form of Government," he said, "is built on the self-assessment tax system. Now if you louse that up, and it was loused up by those people, we don't have a democracy."

Spying Gone Haywire

"I don't care whether he's a hawk or a dove or a—. If the son of a bitch leaked, he's not for the Government . . . I've studied these cases long enough, and it's always a son of a bitch that leaks." Thus—according to the transcript, newly released by the Judiciary Committee, of a conversation between the President, his chief domestic adviser John Ehrlichman and Special Assistant Egil Krogh—did Richard Nixon in July 1971 show his outrage over continuing leaks of classified material and his determination to stop them. Since just after taking office in 1969, the President had been disturbed by the appearance of classified information in the press, beginning with a New York *Times* disclosure that the U.S. was secretly bombing in Cambodia and including Daniel Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon papers and the publication of the Administration's position in arms limitations [SALT] talks with the Soviet Union. His concern, argues James St. Clair, was entirely justified, and the wiretaps that he ordered to find the source of the leaks entirely legal. But the evidence on domestic surveillance released last week by the committee shows that the President and his men grossly abused their authority to spy on Americans. Surveillance that began out of concern for national security was used by people whose purposes were purely political. It is illegal, of course, for the White House to use FBI wiretaps to assemble political intelligence.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THE SUMMER WHITE HOUSE
SAN CLEMENTE, CALIFORNIA

H—
This is the kind of early warning we need more of— your game planners are now in an excellent position to map anticipatory action—
A. Kindred

Ehrlichman memo to Haldeman after wiretaps revealed Clark Clifford's plan to write anti–Viet Nam war story.

The evidence recounts much that was already known about the wiretapping that was ordered by the White House and carried out by the FBI. Between May 1969 and February 1971, 13 Government employees and five newsmen were tapped for periods ranging from less than a month to 21 months. So secret was the surveillance that the FBI did not even keep the wiretap logs in its regular files; copies were held by the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover or his assistant William Sullivan, while other copies went directly to the President or one of his closest advisers.

The impeachment panel's volumes show that three people continued to be tapped after they had left the National Security Council and thus had no access to classified material. They were Anthony Lake, Morton Halperin and Daniel Davidson, all former aides to Henry Kissinger at the National Security Council. Furthermore, Lake and Halperin were tapped after they left the Government entirely. According to the impeachment evidence, the political intelligence gleaned in this manner included:

▸ The "activities of certain potential Democratic candidates for national office." That information was revealed by the tap on Lake, whose phone was monitored for nine months after he left the Government, at a time when he was advising several political Democratic candidates on foreign policy.

▸ Information about the man whom Nixon at one time considered his most dangerous political rival, Maine Senator Edmund Muskie. This information was gained from the tap on Halperin when he worked as an adviser for Muskie in 1970-72 after leaving the Government.

▸ Information about the plans of former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford to criticize Nixon. A letter from Hoover to Nixon dated Dec. 29, 1969, states that the tap on Halperin disclosed that Clifford was preparing an article for LIFE critical of the Administration's Viet Nam policy. This tip was fed to Jeb Stuart Magruder, then White House deputy director of communications. In a memo to H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, Magruder urged a drive to counteract Clifford's article by, among other things, "relating some of Clifford's activities to the press that would indicate the hypocrisy of his position." Ehrlichman wrote to Haldeman: "This is the kind of early warning we need more of—your game planners are now in an excellent position to map anticipatory action." In another handwritten memo Haldeman told Magruder: "I agree with John's point. Let's get going."

After the taps were on for only a few weeks, it had already become clear, to the FBI at least, that they were turning up no national security leaks. Indeed, the entire 21-month program did not uncover a single such leak—a fact the President seemed to recognize when he told John Dean on Feb. 28, 1973, that "they never helped us. Just gobs and gobs of material: gossip and bull shitting."

Yet the tapping continued for months after its uselessness to security became obvious. In May 1970, the FBI was ordered to stop giving wiretap logs to Henry Kissinger, then the President's national security adviser, and turn them over to Haldeman, the President's chief of staff and one of his main political advisers.

Who initiated the national security wiretaps? A Hoover memo dated May 9, 1969, points to Kissinger. "Dr. Henry A. Kissinger . . . called from Key Biscayne . . ." the memo states. "He advised that there is a story on the front page [of the New York *Times*] by [William Beecher] which is extraordinarily damaging and uses secret information.* Dr. Kissinger said they wondered whether I could make a major effort to find out where that came from. I said I would."

Two later memos from Hoover similarly name Kissinger as the initiator of taps on his aides, Winston Lord and Lake, and New York *Times* Reporter Hedrik Smith. But Kissinger has hotly disputed this, saying at his Senate confirmation hearings on his nomination as Secretary of State that his only role in the wiretap program was to supply the names of people who might have had access to classified material. When leaks from the Judiciary Committee raised doubts about his version, Kissinger angrily threatened to resign unless his name was cleared.

Kissinger's version of the events has considerable backing. His defenders have pointed out that Hoover was in the habit of name-dropping in his request for wiretap authorizations. Moreover, after some apparent indecision in the White House, President Nixon two weeks ago sent a letter to J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which he took all responsibility for ordering the wiretaps. Former Attorney General Elliot Richardson, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in September 1973, offered an explanation that backed Kissinger while also accounting for Hoover's memos. Richardson testified that "although he is identified

CLARK CLIFFORD

ALFRED EISENSTAEDT

*On May 9, 1969, the New York *Times* published an article by William Beecher on the series of secret B-52 bombing raids on Cambodia.

we have received from the FBI on Ellsberg. In this connection we would recommend that a covert operation be undertaken to examine all the medical files still held by Ellsberg's psychoanalyst covering the two-year period in which he was undergoing analysis.

Approve E Disapprove
if done under your assurance that it is not traceable.

Memo from Krogh & Young to Ehrlichman seeking approval for plumbers' operation at Dr. Fielding's office.

in the FBI record as having requested the taps directly . . . my discussions with Dr. Kissinger have convinced me that he was not the originator, in the fundamental sense of the word, of any of these taps." Indeed, FBI memos in the new committee evidence show that Kissinger supplied only three names: Lord, Lake and Smith, who had written an article in June 1969 on the Administration's then unannounced plans to remove nuclear weapons from Okinawa.

Next week Kissinger will appear again before the Foreign Relations Committee to answer questions. The now prevailing interpretation: Kissinger approved of the wiretaps, and his forceful demand that the leaks be plugged may well have been a major factor in the President's decision to order them. But Kissinger only supplied names on request for a program that had already been ordered by the President.

The Judiciary Committee's evidence details for the first time the frantic efforts by the White House to keep the wiretap data secret. On July 12, 1971, the President ordered Robert Mardian, then Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division, to get the data from William Sullivan at the FBI. According to FBI interviews of Mardian, he showed the materials to Kissinger, Haldeman and Alexander Haig, Kissinger's assistant. Then, he says, he delivered the files to the Oval Office. Mardian was asked: "Did you give the bag [containing the wiretap files] to Mr. Nixon, the President of the United States?" His reply: "I cannot answer that question."

Mardian's answer, which implies that the President indeed saw the wiretap transcripts, could have an important bearing on the impeachment case. Reason: the evidence suggests, though it does not prove, a crucial connection between the wiretap records and the then ongoing trial of Daniel Ellsberg. The evidence shows that 15 conversations between Ellsberg and Halperin were included in the two boxes of wiretap data on Ellsberg. When William Matthew Byrne Jr., the judge in Ellsberg's trial, learned of the wiretaps and was advised of the break-in at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Ellsberg's psychiatrist, he dismissed all charges against Ellsberg and declared a mistrial because of Government misconduct. Possibly the President wanted to cover up all the wiretap data in order to keep secret the surveillance material on Ellsberg, so as not to damage the Government's case against him.

Another piece of evidence in the committee's volumes makes this interpretation plausible. On April 18, 1973, while the Ellsberg trial was still under way, Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen called to tell the President that E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy had broken into Dr. Fielding's office. The President's curt reply: "I know about that. That's a national security matter. Your mandate is Watergate. Stay out of that." In mid-April, the Justice Department began to advise Judge Byrne of the Government's covert activities involving Ellsberg. On May 11, the case was dismissed.

The impeachment evidence contains much other new material on the President's role in the Ellsberg case.

▶ A transcript of a presidential tape, not previously disclosed, casts doubt on Nixon's claim that the Pentagon papers case was a matter of national security. The President and John Dean talked on July 24, 1971, about a New York *Times* article that contained secret material about the SALT talks then going on with the Soviet Union. That leak, said the President, "does affect the national security—this particular one. This isn't like the Pentagon papers."

▶ In a previously secret affidavit, John Ehrlichman swore before the U.S. district court that Nixon had given after-the-fact sanction of the Sept. 3, 1971, burglary of Dr. Fielding's office. After the break-in became known, the President publicly said that had he known about it beforehand, he "would have disapproved." Yet in a meeting with Ehrlichman on April 18, 1973, Nixon said that it had been "fully justified by the circumstances."

Nothing in the evidence indicates that Nixon knew in advance of the Fielding burglary, but he clearly created the mood of vengeance toward Ellsberg that led to it. He ordered Hoover to supply information on Ellsberg to Egil Krogh, the "plumber" who served 4½ months in prison after pleading guilty to violating Dr. Fielding's civil rights. Charles Colson, who has been sentenced to one-to-three years in prison for smearing Ellsberg, reported in a newly revealed affidavit: "The President from time to time expressed his dissatisfaction with the aggressiveness of the [Ellsberg] investigations . . ." Moreover, in what apparently set the stage for the Fielding burglary, the President told Plumbers Krogh and Young to do whatever was necessary to get information on Ellsberg.

The evidence indicates that Nixon knew too of the psychological profiles on Ellsberg that were prepared by the CIA. In the summer of 1971, under pressure from the White House, a CIA psychiatrist had prepared a first profile that described Ellsberg as brilliant and patriotic. That August Plumbers Young and Hunt, apparently not satisfied with the report, provided the psychiatrist with some FBI reports and Department of State documents on Ellsberg and ordered a second profile. "These men," the psychiatrist recalled in a previously secret affidavit, "were interested in obtaining information which could be used to defame or manipulate Ellsberg." The result was an unflattering portrait that emphasized "strong, although fluctuant, emotional attachments" and "sudden and extreme shifts in loyalty and enthusiasm." The new report referred to Ellsberg as "a very intelligent man" and denied that he was "emotionally disturbed in a psychotic or gross manner." It briefly mentioned his sex life and two years of psychoanalysis, but its focus was on traumatic childhood experiences—especially a car accident at 15 in which his mother and sister were killed—to explain his alleged psychological instability.

The evidence does not indicate how the second profile was put to use. The CIA turned it over to Young in November 1971, along with a letter from Director Richard Helms that stressed that the agency's "involvement in this matter should not be revealed in any context, formal or informal." Helms' concern was quite understandable. The only other American citizen to have been the subject of a CIA psychological profile was Lloyd Bucher, commander of the spy ship *Pueblo*, which was seized by North Korea in 1968. The CIA's interest in Bucher was legitimately tied to national security; the agency wanted to know how well he was likely to withstand the pressures of a rigorous interrogation about American spy operations. But it is a clear violation of the law for the CIA to get involved in domestic concerns, as it did with Ellsberg.

The President's intense feelings about the Ellsberg case re-

The Milk Producers have made very significant contributions to various key Senate races in which we are interested this Fall (approximately $150,000 in total). They have also pledged $2 million to the 1972 campaign.

Excerpt from a memorandum sent to the President by White House Aide Charles Colson on Sept. 9, 1970.

flected his strong worries about leaks of many kinds. In one previously unpublished conversation with Ehrlichman and Krogh on July 24, 1971, the President was so outraged over the leaks concerning the SALT talks that he suggested that everybody in Washington with top-secret clearance—some 400 to 500 people—be given lie-detector tests. "Polygraph them all. I don't know anything about polygraphs and I don't know how accurate they are," the President said, "but I know they'll scare the hell out of people."

Similarly, Nixon's eagerness to collect intelligence on those whom he considered dangerous (mostly members of radical political groups) led him to briefly approve some clearly illegal operations in the so-called Huston Plan. The outlines of the plan have long been known; the Judiciary Committee evidence presents many of the reports and memos that circulated in the White House while it was under discussion. Drafted in June 1970, by Presidential Staff Assistant Tom Charles Huston, the plan spelled out various ways for expanding domestic intelligence activities. Huston specifically pointed out that some of his recommendations—for secretly reading mail and surreptitious entries—were against the law. Nevertheless, according to a Haldeman-to-Huston memo dated July 14, 1970, the President approved of these illegal operations. Five days later, after J. Edgar Hoover and John Mitchell balked, the President rescinded his approval.

Milking the Dairy Co-Ops

In the proposed articles of impeachment, President Nixon is charged with "acts of bribery"—one of the few offenses specifically listed in the Constitution as reason for impeachment. Under one lesser provision of the bribery law, a public servant may be found guilty for merely receiving a gift and knowing that it was given to benefit the donor in his dealings with the Government. The recipient need not have actually performed the act for which the bribe was given, or even have intended to do so. The question before the Judiciary Committee: Under this broad definition, was Richard Nixon guilty of bribery for accepting campaign contributions from dairy corporations that benefited from increases in Government milk-price supports?

In 1969 three of the nation's major dairymen's cooperatives, eager to get on the good side of the new Republican President, contributed $100,000 to Herbert Kalmbach, then the President's personal lawyer and roving fund raiser. In the fall of 1970 the cooperatives pledged $2 million for Nixon's re-election campaign in 1972. The President was told of their pledge, but the cooperatives soon had reason to reconsider their generosity. On March 12, 1971, Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin, with the backing of the President, announced that federal milk-price supports would remain at $4.66 per cwt., or about 79% of parity, instead of the 90% that the dairymen wanted. The higher the supports go, the more money the dairymen are sure to get—and, usually, the more consumers have to pay. After Hardin's announcement, the angry cooperatives decided to cancel plans to donate between $60,000 and $100,000 to a G.O.P. fund-raising dinner scheduled for March 24 in Washington.

Playing politics on their own, Democrats in Congress started drawing up bills to boost supports to at least 85% of parity. Lobbyists for the cooperatives urged Administration officials to raise the price supports, and the dairymen got an appointment to plead their case before Nixon on March 23.

Nixon took the precaution of taping the late-morning meeting. At one point he joked: "Matter of fact, the room is not tapped. [laughter] Forgot to do that [laughter]." The President said he was "very grateful" for the support the dairymen had given him—"and I don't have to spell it out." But nothing was said at this key meeting about the $2 million pledge or any deal. Nixon praised the virtues of the rural life, lauded the sleep-inducing properties of milk, gave each man presidential cuff links and prudently refrained from even hinting at whether or not he would accede to the dairymen's request to raise parity.

Then Treasury Secretary John Connally swung into action, dominating a strategy session on the problem that was attended by the President and his top aides. According to a transcript of the meeting, Connally urged Nixon to raise the parity to 85%. He noted that during the 1972 election, "you're going to have to be strong in rural America." He pointed out that the cooperatives were "amassing an enormous amount of money that they're going to put into political activities, very frankly." He argued persuasively that the Democratic Congress was going to take all the credit by giving the dairymen 85% of parity in a bill that the President could not possibly veto. "If you do," said Connally, "you've cost yourself the money—you've lost your political advantage. You, you're infinitely worse off." Later, Connally advised Nixon: "You're in this thing for everything, you, you can get out of it."

The President agreed that he could not veto a bill that raised parity. "Not because they're milkers, but because they're farmers," he said. "And it would be just turning down the whole damn Middle America. Uh, where, uh, we, uh, where we, uh, need support. And under the circumstances, I think the best thing to do is just, uh, relax and enjoy it." Minutes later Nixon said he would boost support prices—without saying just how high.

Then John Ehrlichman, the President's top domestic adviser, who knew all about the cooperatives' campaign offer, told Connally that he thought the new policy should not be revealed "till you get the green light." Connally quickly agreed, and the President interjected: "You, you're now thinking of the political offer?" The President was apparently referring to the campaign-contribution offer. The other participants in the conversation seem to have been thinking along the same lines. They agreed to hold up the announcement for two days until the White House had marked out final details and was convinced that the cooperatives would make good on their original pledges. Late in the 38-minute conversation, Nixon specified that the parity rise would be to 85%.

The dairymen immediately showed their good faith by scrambling to collect money. A group of officials of the Associated Milk Producers, Inc. (AMPI) arrived in Louisville at 4 a.m. the next day, March 24, for an airport conference with Paul Alagia, an official of another cooperative, Dairymen, Inc. They asked him to get together $100,000. That afternoon D.I. contributed $25,000 to the G.O.P. dinner, which was held that night.

After the banquet, Kalmbach met at the Madison Hotel

with AMPI General Manager Harold Nelson and Murray Chotiner, Nixon's longtime hard-line political strategist, who had recently left the White House to become a lawyer for the cooperative. Kalmbach has told the Senate Watergate Committee that Ehrlichman arranged the meeting to make sure that Chotiner guaranteed the $2 million pledge because the announcement of the rise in parity was to be made the next day, March 25. In his testimony, Kalmbach clearly linked the pledge of money with the rise in price supports. Kalmbach's statement is the strongest evidence of a milk deal revealed by the committee's documents.

On March 25, with the pledge reaffirmed, the Nixon Administration announced an increase in milk-price supports to $4.93 per cwt., or approximately 85% of parity. But the three dairy cooperatives never lived up to their promise. According to the evidence, they gave only between $537,000 and $737,000 to the President's campaign. The story of the deal —contributions in return for higher prices—broke in the press in September 1971, scaring off the cooperatives. When the President's fund raisers asked for more money in October 1972, the dairymen toyed with the idea, especially since the Justice Department had filed an antitrust suit against AMPI. (The case is still before the courts.) But the President's men also were beginning to get wary as the investigation mounted into the deal of milk and money.

PRESIDENT: That's why I said, "Cut it off at the pass." But what I was thinking there, was basically, uh, not to get all those guys pissing on each other. But Dean could go out, with probably some justification, and said that he, uh, could probably say that he told the President about all this, and warned him about all this. Dean said, "Strachan [unintelligible]"

Excerpts from taped conversation between Nixon and Ziegler.

Nixon Listens to His Tapes

One of the strangest pieces of evidence to be found in the entire Judiciary Committee report is a previously undisclosed transcript of a White House conversation on June 4, 1973. John Dean had been talking to the Watergate prosecutors for more than eight weeks, and the President, painfully aware of the trouble he was in, spent more than twelve exhausting hours listening to tapes that might incriminate him in the Watergate cover-up. (Some of these he withheld from the Special Prosecutor and the House Judiciary Committee.) With a kind of desperation, he tried to put the best possible interpretation on his conversations with Dean. His aides—White House Chief of Staff Alexander Haig, Press Secretary Ron Ziegler and Appointments Secretary Stephen Bull—were gathered around the President. He kept protesting his innocence to them, but at times almost sounded as if he were speaking for the record (or possibly for the tape recorder, which he knew was still running). He also kept seeking reassurance from the aides. "... Really, the goddam record is not bad, is it?" the President asked. "Makes me feel very good," replied Ziegler.

At first, Nixon had trouble sorting out the commentary:

President: [Sighs] This is hard work.

Haig: It is.

President: But I've got to do it. Got to do it. And it's best for me to do it too.

Nixon and Ziegler examined the March 13 conversation with Dean sentence by sentence. Though Nixon has consistently claimed that he did not know of the cover-up activities until March 21, his dialogue with Ziegler shows that he was aware of them on March 13:

Ziegler: ... What you had in mind was—

President: The hang-out route.

Ziegler: Relaying the hang-out in terms of Segretti ...

President: Segretti, and, and the Watergate ... There's no cover-up in this—to this point, period—not one talk of cover-up.

Ziegler: That's right.

President: You know, not one bit. There's a little, there's feeling of it through here ... they're hanging tough and so forth ... I suppose he [Dean] could say there that I was telling him to cover up, wouldn't you say for Haldeman?

Ziegler: I suppose he could say that in the context at the time ... still, there's nothing.

President: I didn't know.

Ziegler: ... You were talking about political problems, not illegal problems ... Damn it, I know that's the case ...

President: That's why I said, 'Cut it off at the pass.' But what I was thinking there, was basically not to get all those guys pissing on each other. But Dean could go out, with probably some justification, and said [sic] that he ... told the President all about this ...

The President kept returning to Dean's possible strategy. "... Dean is likely to tell the lawyer the story, Ron, from his vantage point ... Goddammit. Oh, the son of a bitch defects. I didn't know." Later he reflected: "I should have reacted before the 21st of March, actually. Dean shouldn't have had to come in to me with the 'cancer in the heart of the presidency,' which, to his credit he did."

Again the President fell to his doubts: "I mean, God, maybe we were talking about a cover-up—Watergate. I really didn't, I didn't know what the hell—I honestly didn't know ... It's not comfortable for me because I was sitting there like a dumb turkey."

Then he referred to the March 21 tape: "... That's a tough conversation. Unless Haldeman explains it—which he will. [Sighs] But I think we can survive that too." Replied Ziegler: "Yeah, absolutely. We'll survive it all."

H.R. Haldeman, in fact, tried later to explain the conversation to a grand jury in such a way that the President would be cleared of participation in the cover-up. For that explanation, Haldeman was indicted for perjury.

The Defense: No Proof

Replying to most, but not all of the charges against Richard Nixon, Presidential Counsel James St. Clair issued a 151-page brief last week that took the defense lawyer's classic position in a criminal case: his client is innocent until proved guilty, and the evidence presented in the Judiciary Committee hearings fails to constitute such proof. Beyond that, St. Clair claimed "a complete absence of any conclusive evidence demonstrating presidential wrongdoing sufficient to justify the grave action of impeachment."

The President's lawyer concentrated on Nixon's most vulnerable position: his denial of any participation in a scheme to conceal the origins of the wiretapping and burglary of Democratic National Headquarters. The St. Clair brief offered arguments to support three specific related claims:

There is no evidence that the President had knowledge prior to March 21, 1973, of an alleged plot to obstruct justice after the break-in at the Democratic National Committee.

Conceding that Nixon congratulated his former counsel, John Dean, in a taped conversation as early as Sept. 15, 1972, for "putting your fingers in the dikes every time that leaks have sprung here and sprung there," St. Clair contended that Nixon was not referring to a "criminal plot to obstruct justice" but was speaking "in the context of the politics of the matter." The President, explained St. Clair, was concerned about Democratic exploitation of the affair and Democratic civil suits over the burglary. The brief claimed that Dean in his celebrated March 21, 1973, conversation with Nixon emphasized that the President was learning about the cover-up for the first time. Said Dean: "Well, I can just tell from our conversations that, you know, these are things that you have no knowledge of."

St. Clair also argued that it was FBI Director L. Patrick

BRACK—BLACK STAR

PRESIDENTIAL COUNSEL ST. CLAIR AT IMPEACHMENT HEARINGS
Claiming an absence of any conclusive evidence.

Gray III, rather than the President, who first suggested that the CIA may have been involved in the burglary. Thus, when Nixon told H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman to meet with top CIA officials on June 23, 1972, it was not an attempt by Nixon to thwart the investigation but a natural follow-up to Gray's expressed concern about possible CIA involvement in Watergate.

According to St. Clair, the President was totally unaware of any destruction of evidence by his aides in attempting to cover up the Watergate burglary and of any perjury by them until Dean told him of it on March 21.

The evidence shows that the President did not authorize the payment of Howard Hunt's attorney fees.

On the key charge that Nixon had approved the payment of hush money to E. Howard Hunt in that March 21 conversation, St. Clair repeated his familiar rebuttal: the payment was set in motion by Nixon's aides before this meeting. When Nixon told Dean, "For Christ's sakes, get it . . .", Nixon meant only to give Hunt "a signal" of White House concern, not to make a payment of cash. The President was unaware that a cash payment was made on the evening of March 21. Moreover, if it was, any such payment was meant not as hush money but as a legal contribution to Hunt's defense fees and for the support of his family.

The evidence establishes that the President carried out his constitutional responsibility to see that the laws were enforced.

As soon as Nixon learned from Dean on March 21 about the extent of the cover-up, St. Clair argued, the President launched his own investigation to get all the facts. When Dean was sent to Camp David and failed to produce a report, Nixon turned the investigation over to Ehrlichman. As part of this White House probe, Ehrlichman called Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and told him to report directly to the President if the Justice Department found evidence of any wrongdoing by anyone in the White House or by former Attorney General John Mitchell. Moreover, rather than trying to hide the facts, Nixon urged all his aides to testify before the Washington grand jury investigating the burglary, without granting them immunity. This, according to St. Clair, is what led Jeb Stuart Magruder, a key Nixon campaign aide, to go to the grand jury in one of the first moves to help crack the case. The President wanted Mitchell, too, to go before the grand jury, and Nixon instructed Ehrlichman to tell Mitchell that he should reveal all he knew about the burglary and to "let the chips fall where they may."

Beginning April 15, 1973, Nixon kept in almost daily touch with Henry Petersen, head of the Justice Department's criminal division, as the President cooperated fully in the Watergate investigation. St. Clair admitted that the President sometimes got confidential information from Petersen about the progress of the Justice Department's probe and passed it along to his suspect subordinates. This was not done to protect them, St. Clair argued, but to let them know that others were talking to the grand jury and so they must tell the truth. It was this kind of action by the President, sweepingly claimed St. Clair, "that resulted in Dean and Magruder cooperating with the prosecutors and the subsequent breaking of the case."

The defense brief handled other allegations against the President in far less detail. Dismissing charges that Nixon had violated the Fourth Amendment's protection of individual privacy by ordering wiretaps on Government officials and newsmen between May 1969 and February 1971, it argued that the taps were then perfectly legal and were justified by interests of national security. If Nixon had not called for such wiretaps to plug leaks from the National Security Council, St. Clair argued, "he would have failed in his constitutional responsibilities."

As for Nixon's creation of a secret White House squad of investigators, called the "plumbers," the brief argued that this too was a proper effort to protect national security and that "the President never explicitly or implicitly authorized anyone associated with this unit to commit illegal acts," including the Ellsberg burglary. Surprisingly, St. Clair claimed that Nixon deserves credit for informing the judge in the Ellsberg trial of this burglary since "there was no legal obligation to report the break-in." In fact, the judge had been seeking information about the Government's investigatory tactics against Ellsberg for weeks and dismissed the case when he learned of this White House–directed break-in.

As for charges that Nixon traded a rise in milk-price supports for a pledge of large campaign contributions from dairy producers, the brief repeated the President's public contention that he acted in response to general political and economic pressures rather than in return for campaign funds. Congress was pushing for such a raise in support, the brief noted, and Nixon might have been compelled by legislation to enact the raises anyway, because vetoing such a bill would have been politically unwise.

Finally, the brief tried to rebut charges that Nixon used the IRS machinery to harass political opponents. St. Clair contended that if Nixon's aides wrote memos to IRS officials seeking special tax treatment of political opponents, no such tax harassment was actually carried out. Ironically, the brief cited the "highly principled" character of the President's appointed IRS commissioners as substantiation that no White House pressure influenced them. That appears to be true because two commissioners threatened to resign rather than yield, although it is not at all certain that they felt that the President was unaware of the efforts of his aides.

In the introduction to his brief, St. Clair made a magnanimous-sounding offer to the Judiciary Committee: "Should the committee desire any additional submissions, the special counsel to the President would welcome the opportunity to respond to any particular request." That gesture seemed a bit odd, considering that Nixon has refused to comply with no fewer than eight subpoenas from the committee for the submission of 147 tape recordings of presidential conversations.

John Dean: The Man with the Scarlet W

At 33, he sat in the highest councils of Government; at 34, he rocked the Nixon Administration to its foundations; at 35, he faces probable imprisonment, has been disbarred, and hopes for a new career as a writer.

In the 13 months since former White House Counsel John Wesley Dean III testified before the Senate Watergate committee, there have been drastic changes in his life-style, philosophy and future ambitions. Last week at his new hillside home in Los Angeles in a remarkably candid interview—the first he has granted in more than a year—Dean discussed the turbulence of his past and the hoped-for serenity of his future with TIME *Correspondent Hays Gorey.*

Q. Was there ever a major conflict between the Administration and the courts while you were in the White House?

A. Yes—now that you mention it. The President was prepared to defy the Supreme Court if it ruled against the Amchitka [atomic] blast in 1971. He was going to say: "Pull the trigger" and then explain that he had taken the action because it was vital to the military position of the U.S. vis-à-vis Russia. It was a Saturday—the day of the blast—when the court ruled that the test could be conducted. Everyone was in readiness to act if the ruling had gone the other way.

Q. You've now been questioned by James St. Clair. What was it like?

A. He's a very able lawyer, a decisive man, experienced. But he seemed unaware of many details of Watergate. And he seems caught up in the White House philosophy that everything can be handled in a p.r. context. I've been surprised at the number of his public statements.

Q. Why didn't you "jump ship" sooner than you did?

A. Well—I guess I would have to say now I didn't have the guts. I went to the President on March 21 in part because I felt sure someone would break —McCord or Hunt or someone—at the sentencing of the Watergate burglars on March 23. I wanted the President to get out ahead. When they sent me to Camp David to write a "report," I made my final decision that I just couldn't live this way any longer. Anything would be better.

Q. So you went to the prosecutors and asked for immunity?

A. No. I had no intention of seeking immunity. I just knew I couldn't go on. My lawyer told me: "You don't have to run into machine guns to get this done." He also told me he was worried that I might find myself in the river with cement blocks tied to my feet.

Q. You didn't go to the prosecutors sooner because . . .

A. Because I feared the effect on the country and the world. And I wondered if anyone would take my word—a young lawyer—against the President of the United States. I thought, in fact, I could do it in a way that would not involve the President. But I found within a month I could not.

Q. Did anyone ever say no at the White House?

A. They didn't work there very long if they did. Oh, [Clark] Mollenhoff said no, and Pete Peterson did. Neither one could get near the Oval Office. Len Garment said no, in a mild way. Dick Kleindienst said no once. Arthur Burns. And John Connally had to leave because of his recommendations on how to handle Watergate. He just didn't have enough information.

Q. How do you feel about Nixon?

JACK GARFIELD

JOHN DEAN WITH WIFE MAUREEN & DOG GUCCI IN LOS ANGELES
"I don't like being a tattletale, but I have no choice."

A. Anything I would say could be so easily misconstrued that I'd better say nothing. But I personally feel no ill will toward any man. I don't feel I'm a partisan.

Q. What's it like to testify so much?

A. Unpleasant, for several reasons. I don't like being a tattletale or being thought of as a tattletale, but I have no choice when I'm explaining the truth of what happened. And both on and off the witness stand, there are constant efforts to belittle me. It's unpleasant being under attack. And then the facts are so complex. I feel I must read all the documents because I'm going to be asked about it. And it's also unpleasant because I'd like to forget about it and get on with other activities.

Q. You haven't worked for more than a year. How do you live?

A. Watergate was for me a painful and devastating financial setback. I've exhausted all my savings. I withdrew $12,000 I had contributed to the Federal Government retirement program. I sold my $3,000 half interest in a sailboat. My Porsche—which I dearly loved —I sold for $6,300. We're now driving a 1971 Datsun that belonged to Mo's [his wife Maureen's] mother. We sold our house in Alexandria for $135,000 and moved into this less expensive, unfinished [$110,000] home here in Los Angeles and did a lot of the work, including sandblasting and painting, ourselves. I'm in debt—for legal fees, among other things. My fees as a witness are $20 a day, plus $10 or $12 more on days when I actually testify. It doesn't even cover expenses.

There have been several job offers from people who know I can't practice law. Some really wanted to help, some wanted me for publicity. But being a nearly full-time witness, there was no way I could promise to give any man two good days' work in a row.

I had a $250,000 contract to write a book about Watergate. The Special Prosecutor at first had no objection but then thought it might cause problems when I testified. So I called it off. Later, we were about at the point where neighbors were bringing over steaks when I wrote up a treatment for a movie about the nomination process. But Senator Lowell Weicker told me: "You're a political figure. They'll take potshots at you from all over." So I dropped that too. I started writing essays, which Bantam will publish as a book. They've given me an advance—not as much as I earned per year in the White House [$37,000].

Q. And when will you do your Watergate book?

A. Not for about ten years. Let the dust settle.

Q. Are the marshals with you regularly?

A. Twenty-four hours a day. They're thoughtful men who try their best not to interfere with our privacy. But we have undergone a total loss of privacy. Once, for instance, Mo and I were visiting some friends who had a motorcycle. We got on together, rode up an iso-

lated road and, sure enough, there was this little yellow Pinto following. They've been with us full time since January. After I pleaded (in late October) there were lots of threatening letters.

Q. How do you view the prospect of going to prison?

A. I'm not looking forward to it. I'll make the most of that time—thinking, reading and writing. What worries me most is Mo. It's a very unsettled life for her—even now she never knows when I'll be called back to testify. She wants to find a job so she'll have something to occupy her mind if and when I go away. We can use the money too.

Q. Tell me about your associates in Watergate.

A. I feel concern for every man involved in this whole tragic situation. And their families. I'm not bitter toward any. I've seen virtually no one since leaving the White House. Several weeks ago, I saw Bud Krogh at the Special Prosecutor's office. We are old and close friends. We said 10,000 things to each other in our looks. I always knew Bud would stand up and account for himself. Earlier, I saw Jeb Magruder at the same place. He was trying to seem chipper—but he wasn't. I also saw Donald Segretti who is now very bitter toward me. I'd like to talk it out. And then I saw David Young, beaming and happy, as if he had no concerns in the world. Legally, he doesn't. Chuck Colson I've seen on television and I happen to believe his religious conversion is sincere. The whole tone of his personality has changed considerably. John Mitchell I have seen only at the Vesco trial. Maury Stans nodded hello; Mitchell just looked down. I looked at Mitchell hundreds of times, but he never looked up.

Q. Do you think that your testimony has held up?

A. According to the Watergate committee's final report, it has. I'd rather leave that question to the committee and other forums where I have testified. And to history.

Q. Will the Watergate situation ever be resolved?

A. I think that resolution of the Watergate matter is going to determine the type of U.S. Government we'll have for decades to come. It's going to test every branch of Government, but even more important, the people of the United States. People want to be led. Yet the leaders are waiting to hear from the people. It's really a test of the governed that is under way now.

Q. Was there not a fatal flaw in the cover-up?

A. Yes, I like to think it was the fact that John Dean couldn't lie.

Q. Elaborate.

A. Don't misunderstand. I've done wrong. I've never sought to hide my wrongdoings, and I've had to pay dearly for this mistake I have made in my life. I fully understand that I'll have to wear the Scarlet Letter of Watergate for a lifetime.

UPI

CONGRESSWOMAN ELLA GRASSO

POLITICAL NOTES

Defeat in South Carolina

In his first—and perhaps last—brush with politics, former Army Chief of Staff and retired Viet Nam Commander General William C. Westmoreland, 60, last week discovered that a political campaign cannot be run like a military one. In the state's first Republican primary (the G.O.P. previously picked its candidates in convention), a mere 34,000 voters went to the polls.

Unable to attract the independent "antipolitician" voters he sought, "Westy" lost by more than 5,000 votes to Archconservative State Senator James B. Edwards, 47, a Charleston dentist with a hard-core right-wing following. Admitting that he had been "an inept candidate," undone by his blunt speech and stiff bearing, Westmoreland went back to editing his memoirs, due for publication by year's end. Edwards is given almost no chance of survival in the November election against the winner of a Democratic runoff next week. That race pits Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn, 58, against a promising newcomer in South Carolina politics, former Harvard Star Quarterback Charles ("Pug") Ravenel, 36, a Charleston investment banker.

Audits in New York

Abraham D. Beame was elected mayor of New York City last November largely on the strength of his reputation as a solid, superefficient city controller, a post he held off and on for eight years. Last week the city's new controller, Harrison J. Goldin, charged that under Beame's stewardship the controller's office had been inexcusably sloppy in its record keeping and decidedly lax in accounting for city funds. Announcing the results of two separate audits that he had ordered after assuming office, Goldin first alleged that $5.4 million in bonds supposedly locked up securely in the controller's vaults was missing and unaccounted for. Then he released figures compiled by a pool of New York banks showing that the city had at least $45 million more in assets than Beame's records as controller had indicated.

More than somewhat embarrassed, Mayor Beame issued a statement admitting that he indeed knew of serious discrepancies in the city's books as early as 1972, and that he had unsuccessfully tried throughout 1973 to reconcile the figures. But he had no comment on further charges by the new controller. Goldin's auditors found inadequate security measures in effect, poor understanding by employees of the office's standard record-keeping procedures, and a generally "antiquated method for recording and reporting" the city's financial affairs. Beame may well have more explanations to make: Goldin's office will shortly release an audit of city employees' $7 billion pension funds.

Toehold in Connecticut

In two centuries of American politics, there have been only three women Governors, and all three—Nellie Tayloe Ross of Wyoming, Miriam ("Ma") Ferguson of Texas and Lurleen Wallace of Alabama—followed in their husbands' footsteps. Congresswoman Ella Grasso, 55, of Windsor Locks, Conn., is not accustomed to following in anyone's footsteps; her husband of 32 years is a retired school principal, and the toehold she won in the statehouse in Hartford was strictly her own achievement.

Last week the 1,207 delegates at the Democratic state convention in Hartford nominated Grasso as the party's candidate for governor. She has been the leading contender in a relatively issueless race since well before she announced her candidacy last January. Two weeks ago her major rival, State Attorney General Robert Killian, gave up what looked like an increasingly hopeless fight against her. He agreed to join the ticket as nominee for lieutenant governor.

The only child of an immigrant baker, Ella Tambussi Grasso is a *magna cum laude* graduate of Mount Holyoke who blends Italian warmth with Yankee efficiency. An early advocate of consumerism, she worked her way up the political ladder, starting as a state legislator in 1953; she was Connecticut's secretary of state for twelve years before being elected to Congress in 1970. Grasso will face either Congressman Robert Steele or Bridgeport Mayor Nicholas Panuzio in November. The latest poll taken by Republicans shows her to be so far ahead of either candidate that the party is keeping the results secret.

The Corby Cooling System.

Pour a brimming measure of Corby's gin over ice cubes in a tall glass. Add your favourite mixer. Garnish with a slice of lemon, lime. Or a sprig of mint.
Then taste how Corby's distinctive, tangy flavour stands up to cool you down all your drink through.

Corby. Good taste in Canada since 1859.

Men. It's time you took milk-drinking more seriously.

If you think only kids need milk, think again. It's a potent "nutritional cocktail" that can make a big contribution to your health, vigour and vitality.

How milk helps increase vitality and stamina.

Milk is a nearly complete nutritional package. All by itself, it can provide many of the food factors needed for health.

Result: milk makes a serious nutritional contribution to your body's reserves of strength...helping you to function, and enjoy life, to the fullest.

A food—not just a drink.

Milk's nutritional potency puts it into the "food" class in a big way.

This is why milk, added to a grab-and-run type of meal, can not only boost its food value, but also make it more filling and satisfying. So eating on the fly needn't mean running out of steam halfway through a busy day.

Milk's role in a man's fitness programme.

If you don't have some sort of fitness programme, you're just asking for trouble.

But "fitness programme" doesn't necessarily mean elaborate equipment or expensive clubs.

It means recognizing the importance of getting proper sleep; of physical activity; and of proper nutrition.

Here's where milk comes on strong. Along with meat or fish, fruit and vegetables, bread and cereal, *it should be* part of each day's food intake.

Nutritional facts about milk.

Milk is rated an excellent dietary source of 5 essential nutrients:—

Calcium. Adult bones and teeth continue to need calcium.

Protein. Milk provides high quality protein.

Riboflavin. Another factor in adult health.

Vitamin A. Milk is an excellent source of this important vitamin.

Phosphorus. Another factor needed by adult bones and teeth.

Milk is also a good dietary source of THIAMIN. In most cases, VITAMIN D is added in Ontario.

This is why milk has earned the description of "Nature's most nearly perfect food."

To get the most out of milk, drink it every day.

Right now, start adding a glass of milk to whatever you eat for breakfast.

In addition, have another glass—or a carton—of it sometime during the day. At lunch or at breaks or before bed.

That's all there is to it. But—do it *every day,* to get milk's fullest benefit.

That benefit is worth having. Milk, remember, is Nature's most nearly complete nutritional package.

It can give you a man-size push along the road to fuller health and more abundant vitality.

That's quite a promise.

But then, milk is quite a food.

Milk

Milk can help a man get more out of life.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Source of Strength

"You are our greatest advocate," a grateful Richard Nixon told Rabbi Baruch Korff, 60, last spring, and the tribute stands unchallenged. For the past year the beleaguered President has been extravagantly extolled and defended by Korff, sprightly founder and head of the National Citizens' Committee for Fairness to the Presidency, Inc. Last week Nixon found time to meet with Korff in San Clemente, Calif., where he accepted a token of the rabbi's devotion: a copy of a hagiographic paperback called *The Personal Nixon: Staying on the Summit,* which Korff's organization is rushing into the bookstores.

Later in the week, Nixon addressed by phone some 2,500 diehard supporters who were attending a rally in Washington, D.C., that Korff had organized. Said the President: "Rabbi Korff's eloquence, his intelligence, his dedication, have been a great source of strength to me and all of us in these difficult times." In reply, Korff told the President: "We love you dearly." He brushed away a tear as he hung up the receiver.

Bizarre Plot. Some members of the President's inner circle, however, are a bit embarrassed by the genially egotistic rabbi. He also seems to be a bit of an embarrassment to other Jews. Last week Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, denounced him as "an apologist for rampant immorality [who] aspires to out-Watergate Watergate in the name of fair play."

Korff was born in the Ukraine, the son of a rabbi; his mother was shot during a pogrom. During World War II, Korff was a member of a group that bribed the Nazis to allow some Jews to leave Germany. After the war Korff was involved with the terrorist Stern gang, which fought to oust the British from Palestine. In 1947 he was arrested by the French for allegedly taking part in a bizarre plot to bomb London with propaganda leaflets attacking the British stand on Palestine. He denied any wrongdoing and the French later released him without trial.

Good Rapport. In the early '50s Korff became what he calls "a small-town rabbi" while living in Rehoboth, Mass. Last summer, after his retirement (he suffers from a heart ailment), Korff determined to counter what he considered unfair attacks on Nixon. Starting with $1,000 that he had put aside for his and his wife's vacation, the rabbi began soliciting contributions and taking out ads supporting the President in some 25 newspapers round the country. Korff claims that his committee now has a membership of 2 million Americans who have given $1,000,000 to the cause. Most of the contributions have ranged between $1 and $10, but the Teamsters Union donated $25,000.

The President and the rabbi seem to have developed a good rapport. At one point, the rabbi says, he told the President: "Had I been you, I would have made a bonfire and burned the tapes." Nixon's reply: "Where were you eight months ago?"

The heart of Korff's paperback is a report of a long interview that Nixon granted to him on May 13 at the White House. Some of the main points made by the President:

HOW DOES HE VIEW THE PRESS? Admitting that many newsmen had acted responsibly, Nixon added that he knew some White House correspondents "hate my guts with a passion. The point is that if I were basically a liberal by their standards, if I had bugged out of Viet Nam, which they wanted, Watergate would have been a blip. They wouldn't have cared, but it is because I have not gone down the line with them that they care."

NIXON & RABBI KORFF
"We love you dearly."

WHAT SUSTAINS HIM DURING WATERGATE? Nixon cited his inheritance —"strong mother, strong father"—and the toughening experience of having weathered past crises during his career. "In more personal terms," he said, "it gets down to what the Quakers call peace at the center—[which] means that whatever the storms are that may be roaring up or down, that the individual must have and retain that peace within him, and that will see him through all adversity."

HAS THE WATERGATE INVESTIGATION BEEN FAIR? The President found no fault with Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski "whom I respect very much." But Nixon criticized "some of the activities of some of his eager-beaver staffers" for unfairly harassing witnesses during Watergate investigations.

WHAT WOULD MAKE THE RABBI TURN AGAINST THE PRESIDENT? "Treason, and it would have to be proved beyond the flicker of an eyelash." Says Korff: "I regard him as a man who has been vilified, savaged, brutalized, whose blood has been sapped by vampires. I see him holding out against willful people who are unworthy of polishing his shoes."

COMPILED BY JACK MARGOLIS—CLIFF HOUSE BOOKS

The President as Poet

The aesthetic properties of the Watergate transcripts may have escaped most readers, but not Jack S. Margolis, a Los Angeles freelance writer. In a wacky tour de force paperback called The Poetry of Richard Milhous Nixon *(Cliff House Books; $1), Margolis, without omitting words or altering punctuation, has edited a number of Nixon statements into deft little bundles of imagist verse, limning the moods of a President under pressure. Reviewing the volume tongue-in-cheek in* National Review, *Critic Hugh Kenner called the results "poems to read in the subway, in the line at the checkout counter, beside the gaspump, wherever life is lived." Sample verses:*

MIXED EMOTIONS

I still have mixed emotions on it.
I don't know.
I don't know.

I have been one way one time
one way another.

LEGACY

Whatever legacy
We have,
Hell,
It isn't going to be
In getting
A cesspool
For Winnetka.

AND ALL THOSE OTHERS

I'm the President
Of the country -
And I'm going
To get on with it
And meet
Italians
and
Germans,
And all those others.

LET'S FACE IT

Nobody
Is
A friend
Of ours.

Let's
Face
It.

Don't worry
About
That sort
Of thing.

WHO ARE THEY AFTER?

Who
the hell
are they after?

They
are
after
us.

GREEK CYPRIOTS PREPARING FOR TURKISH ASSAULT

UPI

PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AFIRE AFTER REBEL SHELLING

CYPRUS / COVER STORY

Big Troubles over a Small Island

The time was 6:07 a.m. and the summer sun was just beginning to spread over the deep purple mountains and brown fields of Cyprus when the first airplanes appeared. They were propeller-driven C-130s and C-47s, and Cypriots hearing the hum of many motors realized instantly that the planes were not carrying the usual hordes of summer tourists. As each flight approached the plain between the capital city of Nicosia and the Kyrenia Range, which shields the capital from the sea, a stick of Turkish paratroopers jumped into the cloudless sky. Floating into the welcoming Turkish sector of the city, they were gathered into waiting cars, ambulances and even a bread truck and driven to fighting stations. One paratrooper, a 29-year-old Turk named Sami, smiled broadly as he unbuckled his gear and slipped out of his brown chute. "This makes me tremendously happy," he said, apparently having been well coached by his officers. "We are just here to look after the welfare of the Turkish community."

Borrowed Cassock. By midmorning the paratroopers had been reinforced by a naval armada. Protective Turkish destroyers hovered off Kyrenia harbor on the northern coast, and infantrymen were helicoptered ashore and frogmen swam in. Soon battles raged throughout the island, particularly around Nicosia and its vital airport.

For the 520,000 Greek and 119,000 Turkish Cypriots living on the long-embattled island, the World War II–type invasion was an incredible climax of a scarcely credible week. Within the space of five days, His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios III was driven into exile by a right-wing coup spearheaded by 650 regular Greek officers on the island to train the more than 10,000-man national guard. A notorious terrorist, Nikos Giorgiades Sampson, 39, was picked as the new President. Makarios flew off to New York City in a borrowed cassock to plead for help before the United Nations Security Council, but before the U.N. could act or the major powers could intervene, the Turks invaded.

The crisis quickly threatened to spread beyond Cyprus' craggy shores. The Greeks and Turks, ancient enemies,* rushed troops to their 90-mile mutual border along the Evros River and ordered general mobilization, raising the threat of mainland fighting to counterpoint the skirmishes on Cyprus. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger denied that a superpower confrontation was likely. But Moscow once more alerted airborne divisions in a show of strength, and both the Soviet Mediterranean fleet and the U.S. Sixth Fleet dispatched combat vessels toward the island. Kissinger insisted that the U.S. and Russia were not heading toward a clash, explaining that the ship movements are normal precautions when war breaks out in the area.

Nonetheless the danger of a major war between Greece and Turkey was so acute that diplomats everywhere pitched in to stop the shooting on Cyprus. The Security Council approved unanimously—after the Soviet Union withdrew its earlier opposition—a resolution calling for a cease-fire and negotiations. Turkey flatly refused to obey. NATO, since both Greece and Turkey are members, ineffectually attempted to mediate. Britain, which along with Greece and Turkey is a guarantor of Cyprus' sovereignty under the 1960 Zurich treaty that granted it independence, also interceded with both sides.

Waffled Position. The U.S. sent Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Joseph J. Sisco skyhopping through the danger zone between Athens and Ankara to work out a solution. His chances of success were slim, however, because the U.S. had appeared to waffle all week on what position to take on the crisis involving two of its allies.

The problem was that a cease-fire was impossible to enforce even for the 2,188-man U.N. peace-keeping force, which has been stationed on the troubled island since 1964. Within one day, 6,000 Turks had been put ashore in Cyprus. Not only were the Turkish forces fighting Cypriots loyal to Greece but both Greek and Turkish Cypriots were taking advantage of the invasion to resume fighting among themselves. An-

*In modern times they fought in 1896-97 over Crete, which eventually went to Greece after a brief spell of independence, and in 1920 over Izmir, a Turkish province on the Aegean.

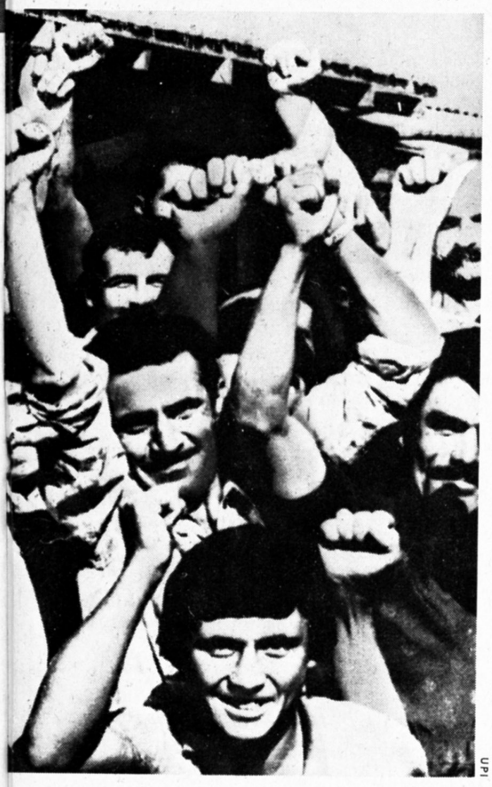
kara was reportedly determined to land three divisions before it would even consider a cease-fire.

Angry Greek Cypriots, who only days before had been fighting one another over whether to remain loyal to Makarios and maintain their country's independence or to form a union with Greece, now joined in determinedly to resist the invaders. Nikos Sampson appeared on television to declare his pride in the fighting spirit of his soldiers. "The Turkish enemy must be driven into the sea!" he cried. Prisons were emptied of fighting men, including 1,200 policemen who had supported Makarios and been jailed following Sampson's successful coup against him.

They were a ragtag regiment. Some wore the camouflage suits of EOKA-B, the pro-Athens, anti-Makarios terrorist group. Others had on U.S. Army fatigues with American names still stenciled over pockets. All gave defiant V-for-victory signs as they straggled off to the front where they faced better-trained and equipped Turkish forces.

New waves of Turkish paratroopers were landed periodically throughout the week along with additional artillery and tanks. Turkish air force planes flew support for them, knocking out bridges and hitting police stations. The preliminary aims of the invading troops were to secure the ten-mile Kyrenia-Nicosia road and take the capital. They made quick advances the first day, capturing that corridor. Then Greek resistance sharply stiffened. Fierce fighting raged for Nicosia, with neither side in control of the city. A naval-air battle erupted Sunday on the southwest coast of the island, according to Ankara, when a Greek flotilla tried to land troops near Paphos. The Turkish General Staff claimed the attempt failed after Turkish warplanes repeatedly attacked the Greek forces, damaging destroyers and landing craft.

ANKARA CROWD CHEERS CYPRUS INVASION



Caught in the middle of the conflict were at least 6,000 tourists. Under escort of U.N. and British troops, a make-shift convoy of more than 500 private autos, trucks and armored cars evacuated about 4,400 foreign nationals from the beleaguered capital to the British base at Dhekelia.

Suspicious Greeks. Everywhere there were the tragedies and anomalies of war. One Turkish plane hit a Nicosia mental hospital, killing at least 20 patients and throwing the rest into a panic. One small boy rolled on the ground in hysteria and chewed pieces of broken glass. Greek Cypriots defending Nicosia periodically popped into available apartments to sip soda and listen to radio reports of how they were doing. But strangest and saddest of all was that the first battle between Greeks and Turks in seven years had been touched off by bitter animosity between Greek and Greek. The root of the war was enmity between the tall bearded Makarios and Greek Strongman Brigadier General Dimitrios Ioannides. Makarios felt that Ioannides, working through Greek officers who have long commanded the Cypriot militia, was trying to turn his people against him.

As much as it distrusted the Turks, the Athens regime looked on the archbishop as the immediate enemy. The violently anti-Communist regime in Athens was suspicious of the archbishop's dealings with Moscow and the support he received from the 40,000-member Cypriot Communist Party. The junta reviled him as "Red," and worried that he would open Cyprus to the Soviet navy. In recent months,

AT ATHENS RAILWAY STATION, RELATIVES SAY FAREWELL TO RESERVISTS MOBILIZED DURING STATE OF EMERGENCY

the anti-Makarios campaign was stepped up, and posters denouncing Makarios appeared on walls in Athens.

Makarios grew uneasy under Athens' mounting campaign, sensing a coup in the wind. He realized that his greatest danger was the presence of the 650 Greek officers on the island, and three weeks ago he wrote a letter to Greek President Phaedon Gizikis demanding their removal. Their continued presence, he said, was "harmful to relations between Athens and Nicosia." In a sermon two weeks ago, he spoke of feeling "the invisible hand that is threatening the liberty of Cyprus and menacing my life." Just three days before the coup he asserted that he had proof that Athens was plotting his overthrow.

Though Athens denied that it contemplated any action against Makarios, there was little doubt on or off the island that a plot to depose the archbishop was planned by the secretive Ioannides, 52, chief of the Greek military police and strongman behind President Gizikis. Under the mounting demands from Makarios, Ioannides finally ordered the coup to take place Monday morning and, as the archbishop had feared, the Greek officers led the national guard against troops loyal to him. Using Soviet T-34 tanks that the archbishop had received from a 1964 aid pact with Russia, the guard attacked strategic locations, including the presidential palace, Nicosia airport and central prison, where hundreds of pro-*enosis* prisoners were being held.

When the fighting started, Makarios was in the presidential palace greeting a delegation of Greek Orthodox schoolchildren from Cairo. With the building being repeatedly hit by tank and mortar fire, the archbishop and three bodyguards ducked out a rear door, crossed a garden where no tanks or armored cars had yet appeared and commandeered a passing car. As the President of Cyprus lay on the floor, the party headed for Paphos, on the southwest coast, where Makarios was born and where the population was fanatically loyal to him.

At first he intended to escape into the forests and mountains around Paphos that he had known as a young shepherd. But then, he recalled later, "I decided I could serve my people better if I went abroad to rally international support against the Greek junta." Through India's General Dewan Prem Chand, commander of the 2,188-man United Nations forces on Cyprus, Makarios ar-

"We Will Eat the Turks!"

TIME *Correspondents William Marmon and Karsten Prager were in Nicosia when invading Turkish troops began landing. Their eyewitness report from the Cypriot capital:*

The Ledra Palace Hotel is almost smack on the Green Line that runs through Nicosia, dividing the Turkish sector from the Greek. Most of the hotel guests were awakened Saturday morning by a long burst of weapons fire.

BULLET-RIDDLED MONASTERY IN NICOSIA

DAVID RUBINGER

Minutes later we heard the drone of propeller engines coming from the west and north. Overhead we saw American-built transports dropping squad after squad of paratroopers. The brown parachutes stood out brightly against the clear blue morning sky as the troopers dropped gracefully onto the plain north of Nicosia. As soon as they hit ground, they began to assemble and move out. Whenever they encountered Turkish Cypriots, the paratroopers were wildly cheered. They urged the civilians to take shelter inside the Turkish towns.

The paratroop transports came in three waves; each was covered by three fighter-bombers. Before departing, the bombers swept toward the airport and the barracks of the Greek contingent and strafed and dropped their bombs, setting off fierce fires.

Soon the sounds of fighting could be heard throughout the city. Residents of the capital clustered in stair wells, basements and other parts of their homes seeking shelter. Many held portable transistor radios to their ears, trying to determine what was happening. The radio announced total mobilization, exhorting: "Greeks! Arise and fight! We will fight the Turks to the end!"

■

On Grivas Boulevard, a main road of the capital, there was a tremendous movement of vehicles. People were running about in great confusion, probably in a frantic search for food, but the shops had not opened. Hundreds of reservists and mobilized civilians streamed down the streets to a mobilization center at the Kiko Gymnasium. There, in the midst of chaos, attempts were made to organize the men and distribute an assortment of old weapons (mainly World War II–vintage M-1 rifles) and combat boots, many without laces. Almost everyone, strangely, seemed in a holiday mood. "We will eat the Turks!" said one young, grinning, newly mobilized trooper, wearing his khaki U.S. Army shirt and cradling an aged automatic weapon still caked with grease. As we walked along the streets with the troops, an old lady dressed in black crossed herself and shouted to us: "St. George be with you."

Later we saw clusters of Greek Cypriot soldiers who did not seem to know where to go or how to operate their weapons. Some just shot the rifles into the air or constantly switched the safety catch on and off. It was a bit unnerving.

■

Around the Ledra Palace Hotel, where 150 reporters and photographers were staying, there were sporadic bursts of fire from a squad or so of Greek Cypriots, although there seemed to be no clear target. The troops seemed uncertain about their role. They moved frequently from the front of the huge hotel to the back amid much shouting of orders and replies. In all the confusion there was a glimmer of comedy. When a hotel employee paged a journalist, one of the Cypriot troopers, rifle in hand, joined in calling for him with great gusto.

Early in the day, Greek Cypriot soldiers carried a .50-cal. machine gun up to the roof of the four-story hotel. Other Greek soldiers took up positions in rooms on the top floor, which gave them a commanding view of the Turkish area. The Greeks began shooting, and they soon drew counterfire. A heavy shell, possibly a bazooka, hit the northeast corner of the building, killing one Greek Cypriot soldier and fatally wounding a second. The Turks continued to shell the hotel roof intermittently. None of the hundreds of journalists and guests crowding into the lower floors were injured by the Turkish firing. Later, when the Greeks removed their guns from the hotel and withdrew to the patio, they were loudly cheered by the much relieved newsmen and guests.

M. ALI KISIALI

ECEVIT AT MILITARY BRIEFING
Fighting to prevent bloodshed.

ranged for an R.A.F. helicopter to take him out of Paphos to a British base on the island. Before he left, however, he made a brief broadcast over the Paphos radio station, which had rechristened itself "the Voice of Free Cyprus." The stronger Nicosia-based Cyprus Broadcasting Corp. was chortling: "Makarios is dead! Makarios is dead!" "*Zo* [I live]," said the archbishop. "Support me. Rise up and fight."

At that point, the fighting was over —temporarily, as it turned out—and the national guard controlled the island. About 30 people had been killed and 200 wounded in the day-long battle. Even as Makarios was airlifted to Malta and then to London on an R.A.F. Comet jet, a notoriously ruthless terrorist named Nikos Sampson was already being sworn in as President.

Sampson, 39, who has openly bragged of killing at least a dozen men, earned his living as editor-publisher of the Nicosia newspaper *Makhi* (Struggle), one of the largest on the island. He was one of about two dozen powerful right-wing "warlords" who maintained small private armies for attacks on Turkish enclaves. But he was politically unsophisticated and suspected of being chosen by the Greek junta to become President because he would be a willing mouthpiece for Athens.

A son of peasants, Nikos Giorgiades adopted Sampson as his surname because he thought it expressed the strength an underground fighter ought to have. A British intelligence officer who has long known him said harshly: "Sampson is a thug and killer, pure and simple." British authorities believe that he was responsible for 26 killings in his fight against British rule, but he was never convicted of murder.

Sadistic Reputation. One senior British official recalls that after a terrorist killing, Sampson would frequently be "the first reporter on the scene. The reason, of course, was that he himself had committed the murders. He would hide behind a narrow turning in a Nicosia side street, wait for his victim to pass, and then blow the man's head off or shatter his back. He would toss his gun to a small boy, who would disappear into the bowels of the earth. Sampson would then run away and reappear several minutes later clutching his reporter's notebook." Although much of his terrorism was politically motivated, he acquired a reputation for sadistically enjoying the pain he inflicted.

Sampson, in his single public appearance as President before the Turkish invasion, met foreign newsmen in Nicosia to charge Makarios with torturing Cypriots and display some of the archbishop's weapons and "victims." The new President also insisted to the Turks—who well remembered the days when his gang used to attack them with provocations—that "the Turkish community is in no danger at all." Cypriot Turks were unconvinced by his assertion. Rauf Denktaş, leader of the Turkish community on Cyprus, refused to recognize Sampson's takeover of power and openly called on Turkey and Britain to oppose him.

The Turkish government needed little prodding. Within recent months the festering relations between Greece and

KEYSTONE

GREEK STRONGMAN IOANNIDES
Facing a dilemma.

Turkey had worsened as a result of a dispute over a major discovery of offshore oil in the Aegean Sea near Thasos. The oil is situated in an area where the continental shelves of the two countries overlap, causing arguments about ownership. Turkey has indicated willingness to arbitrate the controversy, but Greece adamantly refuses. At the moment, Athens is in control of the area.

As a result of such irritations, Turks reacted with delight rather than alarm at the sight of war preparations. People cheered as ships, carrying equipment obviously designed for amphibious operations, gathered in the Turkish port of Mersin. Antiaircraft guns were hauled to Çankaya, one of the tallest hills in the capital, to protect the presidential palace. Blackouts were ordered for Ankara and other cities.

Turkish Passions. The Turkish Parliament openly fretted when Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, apparently seeking a peaceful solution, flew off to London for conferences with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, as well as the U.S. State Department's Sisco. Turks feared that Ecevit might buckle once again, as Turkey has twice done in the past decade, rather than go to war over Cyprus. Instead, Ecevit took a hard line. He firmly demanded withdrawal of the Greek officers from the island. Unless his terms were met, he warned, Turkey would exercise its treaty rights to move into the island and restore independence. His listeners believed the Prime Minister was bluffing. It was a serious underestimation of Turkish passions over Cyprus.

In Greece, racked by dictator governments since the 1967 revolt of the colonels, the mood was somber. After mobilization was ordered, a single car filled with young men waving a giant Greek flag slowly toured Athens' Constitution

continued on page 35

Balance of Forces

	GREECE	TURKEY
Population	8,900,000	37,900,000
Armed forces	160,000	455,000
Reserves	205,000	800,000
Armored vehicles	650	1,400
Artillery	310	1,350
Warships (none larger than a destroyer)	75	110
Combat aircraft (mainly U.S. F-5s and F-104s)	225	288

In the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union now has about 50 vessels, including 12 major warships. The U.S. Sixth Fleet comprises about 45 ships, of which 30 are warships, including two aircraft carriers.

The Ancient Roots of Today's Bitter Conflict

Different invasions weathered and eroded it, piling monument upon monument. The contentions of monarchs and empires have stained it with blood, have wearied and refreshed its landscape repeatedly with mosques and cathedrals and fortresses. In the ebb and flow of histories and cultures it has time and time again been a flash-point where Aryan and Semite, Christian and Moslem met in a death embrace . . .
—Lawrence Durrell, *Bitter Lemons*

With its golden beaches, dependable sunny weather and centuries-old monasteries, Cyprus would probably be known to the world only as a vacationers' paradise were it located in the South Pacific or the Caribbean. Fate, however, has placed the tiny island (3,572 sq. mi.) at the far eastern end of the Mediterranean, close to the cradle of Western civilization. A mere 40 miles south of Turkey, 100 miles west of Lebanon, and 525 miles east of Greece, Cyprus for millennia has been a strategic prize for any power seeking to control the politics and commerce of the region.

The ancient Egyptians invaded Cyprus around 1500 B.C. to strengthen the defense of their empire. Then came a string of conquerors that included Alexander the Great and the generals of the Roman Republic. Greek domination began in the 4th century A.D., when Cyprus became part of the Byzantine Empire. The Greek-speaking Byzantines founded the island's many monasteries, which became the source of the Orthodox Church's power on Cyprus and the most important cultural and linguistic link to Greece.

Byzantium ruled Cyprus for more than eight centuries. After the Crusades, during which Richard Coeur-de-Lion conquered the island on his way to the Holy Land, Cyprus fell to the Franks and then to the Venetians. In 1570 the Turks arrived, carrying the standard of the Ottoman Empire. From the start, the Turkish rulers demonstrated a ferocity that the inhabitants of Cyprus never forgot. After capturing the city of Famagusta in 1571, the Turks publicly flayed to death the commander of the defending troops, then stuffed his skin with straw and paraded it around the island. About 30,000 Turkish soldiers were granted land on Cyprus, encouraging them to settle their families there. Those settlers were the ancestors of Cyprus' Turkish community, which today comprises about 18% of the island's 660,000 inhabitants.

In 1878, Britain took Cyprus in "trust" from the declining Ottoman Empire and later annexed the island outright when Turkey sided with Germany and its allies during World War I. Under British rule, a wary but peaceful coexistence developed between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Greek landowners in the jagged Troodos Mountains leased their pastures to Turkish shepherds; Turkish shopkeepers bought oranges and carobs from Greek farmers. In the village *taverna,* Turk and Greek sat at separate tables but spoke politely to each other, usually in Greek.

UPI

BRITISH TROOPS ON GUARD BEHIND BARBED WIRE IN NICOSIA (1955)

This amiable state broke down after World War II. Archbishop Makarios, then the religious leader of the island's Greeks, along with the legendary Greek General George Grivas, fostered a guerrilla force known as EOKA (an acronym from the Greek words for National Organization of Cypriot Fighters). They wanted to free Cyprus from British rule and achieve *enosis*—unification with Greece.

Enosis terrified the island's Turks. To them it meant becoming a tiny minority within Greece—a country once ruled by the Ottomans. Instead they proposed *taksim,* a kind of double *enosis* that would enable the Turkish sectors of the island to unite with Turkey and the Greek with Greece. They established a guerrilla unit of their own, T.M.T. (Turkish Defense Organization). Violence erupted between the two groups in the mid-1950s, and Turks began to move out of sectors of Cypriot towns in which there were Greek majorities, and establish their own enclaves. Nicosia, for instance, saw a mass exodus of Turks from the south side to the north. Greek lawyers hesitated attending trials at law courts located in what became almost exclusive Turkish enclaves.

■

When they were not fighting among themselves, Cypriots fought the British. After four years of guerrilla warfare, which claimed more than 500 lives, Cyprus attained independence in 1960. The settlement was negotiated by Britain, Greece, Turkey and representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. However, it pleased few of the Cypriots, since it fulfilled the yearnings for neither *enosis* nor *taksim.* A hybrid government was created that called for a Greek as President and a Turk as Vice President. In the Cabinet and legislature, the Turks were given 30% of the seats —nearly double their percentage of the island's population.

The two communities each formed their own militia, manning checkpoints on roads leading from one sector into the other. Inside Nicosia, tourists wandering from the south side to the north to visit the Turkish quarter felt that they were crossing a frontier into another country.

Makarios, who was elected President of the new republic, resisted giving Turks enough high positions in the government, with the result that battles constantly erupted between the two communities. Frustrated, the Turks withdrew from the Cabinet and legislature at the end of 1963. Several months later, fighting between Turks and Greeks became so fierce that United Nations troops were sent in to keep the two sides separated. Ever since, a U.N. force of about 2,000 men has been stationed on the island to police the borders between Greek and Turk enclaves. But despite the U.N. troops, fighting between the communities erupted again, and in August 1964, Turkey sent warplanes to strafe and bomb Greek positions on the island. The U.N. arranged a cease-fire that lasted until 1967, when Greece and Turkey again nearly went to war.

Cyprus' independence in the face of pressures from Athens and Ankara was due in large part to Makarios' wily ability to play both sides against each other. After the confrontation of 1967, he abandoned *enosis,* which also helped defuse Turkish suspicions about whether his loyalties lay with Greece or Cyprus. Actually, Makarios continued to believe in the ideal of *enosis* but he feared—and events last week proved him right—that any attempt to achieve union with Greece would lead to war with Turkey.

Square. But there were few other patriotic demonstrations. Banks closed as they have before each recent domestic political crisis. Traffic jams occurred as Greeks left their jobs early to stock up on foodstuffs. Stores that were sold out of coffee, sugar and other staples locked their doors. Tourist attractions, including the Acropolis sound and light show, were canceled. The airport was closed, and the Athens telephone system was jammed by panicky foreign visitors.

The Greeks were not eager to fight. For one thing, their army—supplied by the U.S., as Turkey's is—is smaller than Turkey's *(see table page 33)*. For another, the tactical advantage was with the Turks, since they had made the first moves and were much closer to Cyprus. The situation presented a dilemma for the unpopular junta, which would suffer whether it failed to fight or fought and did poorly. Either way, prideful Greeks would feel that the junta had allowed Turkey to humiliate their country. Athens radio at week's end went off the air amid rumors of a major shakeup in the junta leadership.

Snarled Traffic. Rumblings of the Cyprus crisis echoed all around the Mediterranean. Syria placed its forces on maximum alert, and President Hafez Assad canceled a state visit to Yugoslavia. The Egyptian government ordered its navy to stay at home. Commercial air traffic was snarled at the peak of the summer season, since regional controllers for international flights are located on Cyprus. With them off the job because of the fighting, airports were closed down at Beirut, Teheran, Tel Aviv and other cities, stranding thousands of businessmen and tourists. Only El Al was flying. The Israeli airline threaded its jets on a careful course to avoid both Cyprus air battles and hostile Arab air space.

Also in the air was Sisco, flying in Kissinger's blue and white jet between Athens and Ankara, searching for solutions. He had been dispatched at the beginning of the week merely as a fact finder; when the Turkish ultimatum began to run out, he turned into a mediator, attempting to persuade the Turks to be patient and putting leverage on the Greeks to be generous.

The U.S. position on Cyprus was set by Kissinger himself after conversations with President Nixon at San Clemente. In the State Department, it was privately described as one of "constructive ambiguity" by some who had been left in the capital to implement it. While not embracing the new President, the U.S. dropped the ousted Makarios by pointedly calling him only "archbishop" rather than "President." To critics, that appeared to be an unseemly speedy desertion of a legitimate head of state.

The loudest catcalls for constructive ambiguity came from British critics of Kissinger who had a heavy stake in Cyprus. But working-level foreign service officers were also vocal in their complaints against his policy. They thought that the Secretary had ignored early warnings that a Cyprus coup might be in the offing, and that, in order to protect negotiations with Greece on homeport facilities for the U.S. Navy, he had not been forceful enough in criticizing the Greek regime. The U.S. confined its public comment on Greece to support of Cyprus' "independence and territorial integrity and its constitutional arrangements." Not until after the Turkish invasion did the U.S. finally acknowledge publicly what many other nations had been saying all week—that the Greek government had directly contributed to Makarios' downfall. At a press conference, Kissinger denied that U.S. policy had been indecisive or biased toward Greece. He said that his prime concern was to maintain a low-keyed, evenhanded position toward both sides in hopes of calming the situation.

To try to carry out that policy, Sisco reportedly proposed in Athens that Sampson be replaced by a more moderate Cypriot as President, that Makarios be allowed to return to the island in his priestly capacity and that the Greek officers commanding the Cypriot national guard be withdrawn. The most the Greek junta was willing to do was to replace the 650 officers with other officers, which was scarcely a concession.

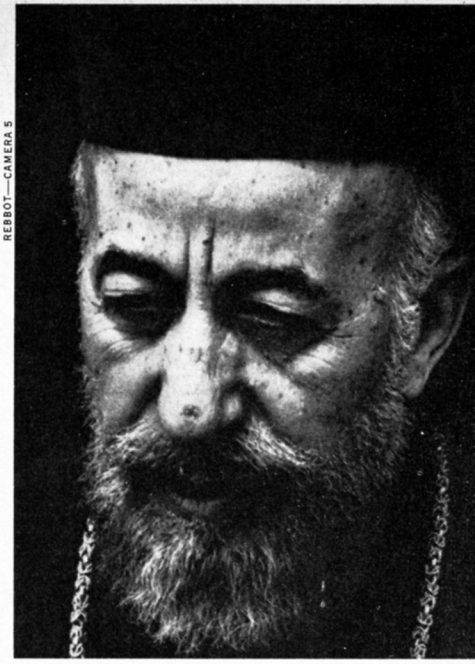
The Under Secretary did little better in Turkey, where some oversensitive officials complained that "the Middle East got Kissinger for a whole month and we get Sisco for a week." Discussions between Sisco and Ecevit started out poorly when Sisco, because of scheduling difficulties, dispatched U.S. Ambassador William B. Macomber to the initial session in his place. Since Macomber was lower-ranking than Sisco, Ecevit disdainfully shuffled him off to see Foreign Minister Turan Gunes. When the two principals finally did meet two hours later, Sisco recalled that Ecevit was a "humanist" who had written poetry in his youth and asked, "How can you think of shedding blood?" Though Ecevit was still maintaining that no decision to invade had yet been made, he replied with a broad hint about Turkey's intentions: "I am convinced that my decision will prevent more bloodshed." He cited the 1967 Cyprus crisis, in which U.S. Mediator Cyrus Vance persuaded the sides to pull back and avoid fighting. "If your colleague had not convinced us to change our minds about military interference, Cyprus today would be an island of peace."

Actually Ecevit's government had already decided on an invasion. Even as Sisco sat with the Prime Minister on the midnight before the landings took place, the Turkish fleet was approaching Kyrenia and pilots were manning their planes. With Turkish passions for action running so high, Ecevit was certain that his government would fall if it backed down. Moreover he sensed that no country was eager to recognize Sampson as President of Cyprus and thus no major power would complain too much if Sampson was toppled.

Soviet Massage. Ankara was also being massaged into fighting by the Soviet Union, which was happy to see the two NATO nations involved in an imbroglio. The crisis enabled Moscow to draw closer to Turkey by offering the nation encouragement and even possible aid, and thus recover some of the leverage it recently lost in the Middle East. It also offered Moscow an opportunity to foment disarray in NATO without risking serious damage to détente.

Beyond that Moscow had a practical reason for wanting anti-Soviet Greeks out of power on Cyprus. The island is the key Middle East intelligence center for the Kremlin (as it is for the U.S.). Russia's Nicosia embassy is larger than any of its embassies in Cairo, Teheran and Beirut. A sophisticated communications center links the Cyprus embassy with Moscow and the Soviet

DAVID RUBINGER



REBBOT—CAMERA 5

SAMPSON AT POST-COUP PRESS CONFERENCE **MAKARIOS ARRIVING AT U.N.**

Forewarning that an invisible hand threatens the life of Cyprus.

U.S. ENVOY JOSEPH SISCO
A policy of constructive ambiguity.

Mediterranean fleet as well as with two Russian spy ships that monitor radio traffic off the Israeli coast. The entire operation would almost certainly cease if Sampson remained President of Cyprus.

On the day of the invasion, Ecevit went before the Turkish Parliament, whose 635 members have usually greeted his appearances without enthusiasm. Not this time. After Ecevit made a 90-minute explanation of why he had ordered the invasion, members gave him a ten-minute standing ovation. Ecevit asked for a declaration of war against Greece if one became necessary—and the cheering legislators left no doubt that they would happily grant it.

Enosis* or *Taksim. Ecevit's sudden popularity could quickly sour after the euphoria of the successful invasion dissipated in the face of problems requiring solution. Foremost among them was how to bring peace to Cyprus short of stationing a standing army there. No one believes that Greek Cypriots would accept union with Turkey or rule by a Turkish Cypriot. One solution might be to have a Greek moderate acceptable to both island communities take over the presidency, or even have Makarios return. Another, less likely possibility is the old idea of double *enosis*—or *taksim*, in Turkish—under which Greek enclaves would be annexed to Athens and Turkish zones to Ankara. One difficulty is that ownership of land on Cyprus is so intermixed between Greeks and Turks that neighbors who have seldom agreed on anything would be unlikely to agree on which country controlled individual tracts of real estate.

But such political concerns were for the future. At week's end attention was focused on the bloody fighting on Cyprus and efforts to keep it from spreading beyond the island.

JAPAN

Trouble for Tanaka

Political seismographs in Japan in the past month have registered a series of increasingly serious shocks to the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and particularly to Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, 56. Inflation, the slowing of the postwar economic boom, which the Japanese had come to take for granted, and Tanaka's failure to halt factional fighting within the L.D.P. were the immediate causes of the tremors. In this month's election of the House of Councillors, the upper chamber of the national legislature, the L.D.P. lost six seats instead of breaking even as expected. That gave it only 128 seats in the 252-man body, its slimmest majority in the L.D.P.'s nearly 28 years in power.

A few days after the electoral setback, Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Miki, 66, quit the Cabinet, complaining about the $142 million squandered on the election by the L.D.P. Then last week Takeo Fukuda, Tanaka's most serious rival for leadership of the L.D.P., resigned from the Cabinet post of Minister of Finance. It was the most serious political threat yet to Tanaka.

Fukuda, 69, called on the Prime Minister to resign. "If things go on at this rate, the party will collapse," said Fukuda. "The L.D.P. must start from scratch to rebuild its image from the roots. This can only start with responsible leadership."

Obviously, Fukuda has himself in mind. As the leader of one of the five main factions of the L.D.P., he has long sought to win the presidency of the party and thereby the prime-ministership. Two years ago, Fukuda tried for the post and narrowly lost to Tanaka. Last year he was named by Tanaka to be Finance Minister, one of the country's most difficult and powerful positions. Fukuda proved his abilities by dealing fairly effectively with a triple economic threat: 1) a 300% increase in the price of imported oil; 2) the industrial world's highest rate of inflation (currently running at 22%); and 3) a dramatic slowing of economic growth rate down from 11% in 1973 to an anticipated 1.5% this year. He tightened credit, increased interest rates, and cut back government spending. These measures began stabilizing prices, at least until recently when industrial and business workers won a 32% wage hike, which is expected to spur new inflation.

Now that he has quit the Cabinet, Fukuda is expected openly to exploit the growing public dissatisfaction with Tanaka. In the most recent poll, the Prime Minister's popularity dropped to 19%.

Fukuda can count on backing from former Deputy Prime Minister Miki, who also heads an important L.D.P. faction, from a number of key party elders (such as Shigeru Hori, 71, who quit the Cabinet post of Minister of the Administrative Management Agency just before Fukuda quit), and from many of Japan's powerful corporate bosses. Unless mounting pressure forces Tanaka to resign, which currently seems unlikely, Fukuda will probably delay a showdown until next July when Tanaka comes up for re-election as L.D.P. president.

Treading Tenderly. Although Tanaka's fortunes are at their lowest ever, no one is willing to count him out. Last week he moved swiftly to stem a total collapse of his Cabinet by shifting one of his loyal followers, Masayoshi Ohira, 64, from Foreign Minister to Fukuda's post at Finance. He named two other well-known and respected L.D.P. veterans to the other vacant posts: Toshio Kimura, 65, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Kichizo Hosoda, 62, to Hori's old job. From now on, however, the abrasive, aggressive Tanaka will have to tread much more tenderly. Fukuda and his allies will be waiting to exploit any false step.

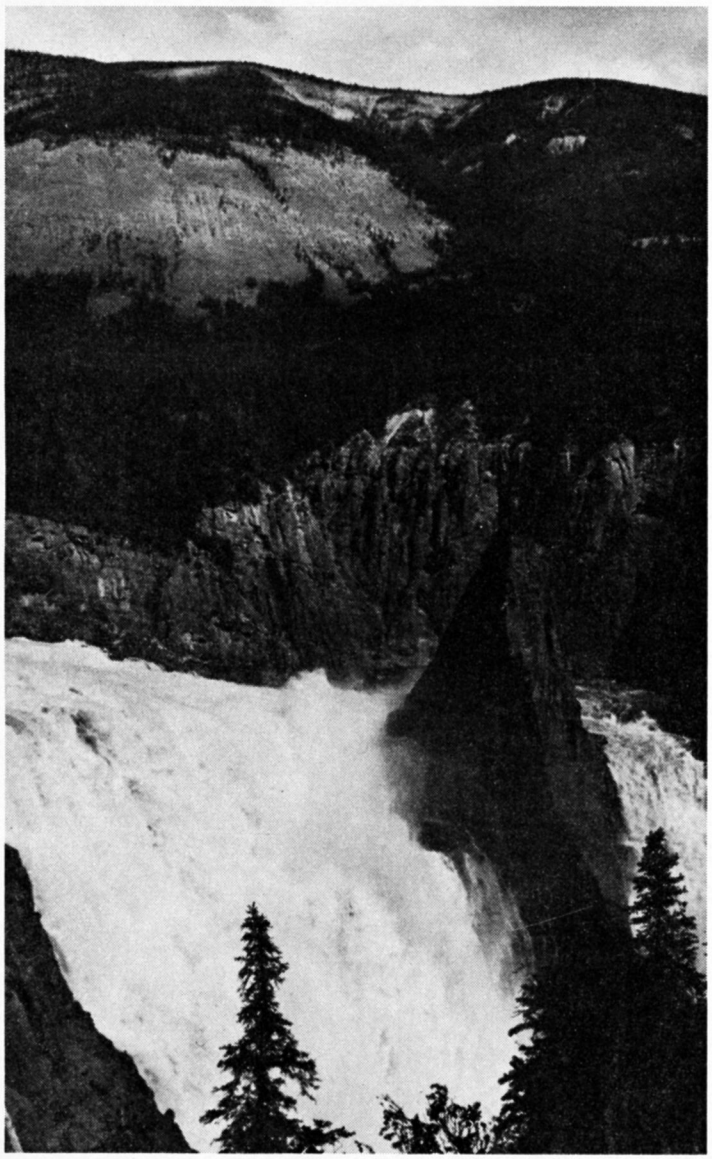
SANKEI SHIMBUN

EX-FINANCE MINISTER FUKUDA & TANAKA BEFORE THE RIFT (NOVEMBER 1973)
As the pressure mounts, jockeying may not delay the showdown.

"Thank God for the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada"

– Pierre Berton

Virginia Falls Nahanni River National Park.



The National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada is the only national organization to speak exclusively on behalf of parks in Canada. The resounding endorsement of the NPPAC by Canada's outstanding writer, television personality and dedicated conservationist on a recent Pierre Berton Show program was prompted by the successful conclusion of a two-year fight by the citizens' organization to win the establishment of the Nahanni River National Park in the Northwest Territories against strong and bitter opposition from mining and power development interests.

This is typical of the many important issues in which the NPPAC becomes involved as the association works to ensure enough parks for the future and to protect those we already have. This work involves time and money. Your support is needed.

If you feel as Pierre Berton does and would like to know more about the NPPAC and how you can join, clip and mail the coupon to:

National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada
47 Colborne Street
Toronto, Ontario M5E 1E3

We are interested in receiving information on the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada. Please send material to:

Name _____

Address _____

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Canada needs more people like "Court" Channon

During the depression, Court Channon learned to paint ties for a living. Now art is his hobby. And once a week he becomes an art teacher. His students are a group of people who might otherwise lead forgotten lives in lonely rooms.

Court's class convenes each Tuesday morning in a corner of a meeting room at the Senior Citizen's Centre in Windsor, Ontario.

For two hours, Court moves quietly from student to student—suggesting a colour or demonstrating a brush technique. He has a natural talent for teaching (not to mention art) that shows in each student's progress during the session.

Just one of 400,000 volunteers.

Court Channon is just one of 400,000 United Way volunteers across Canada. People like Jim Portelance in Thunder Bay who gives an evening each week to drive handicapped adults to meetings. And Sandy Donald—a volunteer youth worker in Calgary.

These are people who care. And they have something else in common—they are unpaid.

Could the government replace Court Channon?

Critics of the United Way concept suggest that the government should do the whole job of helping the poor, the sick, the aged and the disadvantaged young.

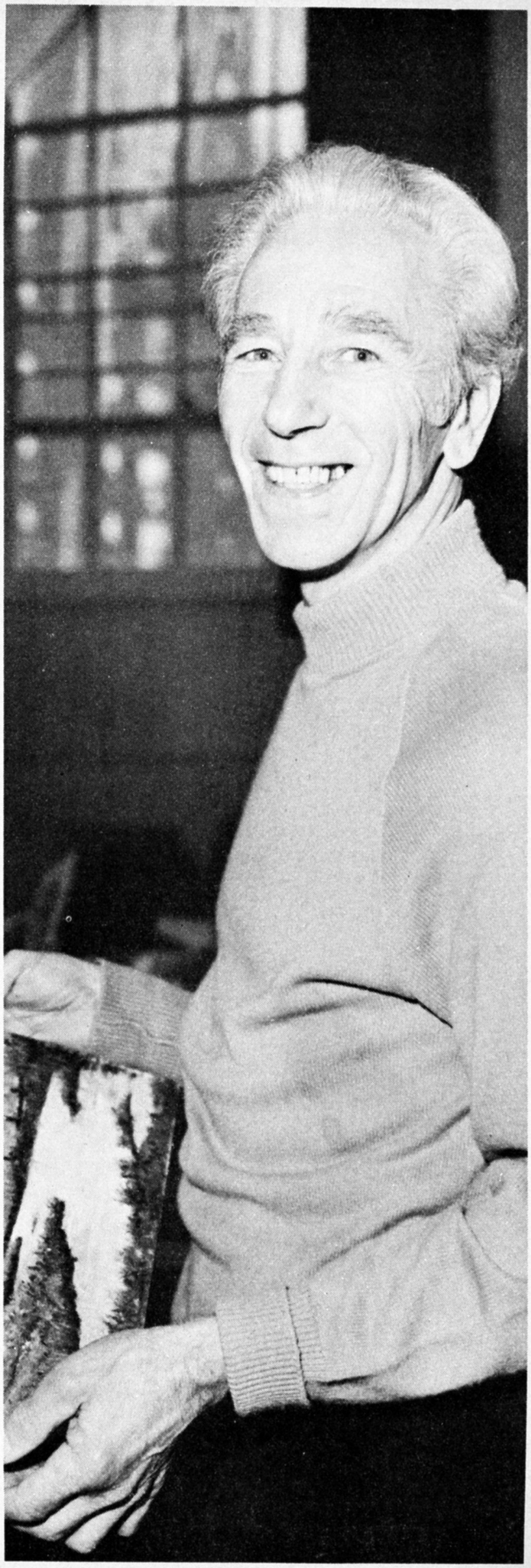
But no government could give the very personal kind of help that a volunteer gives. You can't legislate love.

What this country needs is more people like Court Channon. People who care.

If you care enough, telephone the United Way office in your community. Or write to: United Way of Canada, Box 3505, Postal Station C, Ottawa, Ontario, K1Y 4G1.

If you can't give time, give money. Please. Your annual gift helps those who help others...the United Way.

Canada needs the United Way



Contributed by the Publisher

SPAIN

Franco Yields

The medical bulletin came as many Spaniards were enjoying a long weekend in celebration of the 38th anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War that brought Generalissimo Francisco Franco to power. "The illness from which the head of state has been suffering has today suffered a regression because of gastric complications," said the report from the medical center in Madrid, where Franco has been bedridden for the past two weeks. A few hours later, Franco, 81, formally handed over his powers as chief of state and head of the armed forces to Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón, 36, his chosen successor *(see box)*. For the first time in nearly four decades Spain was not under the absolute rule of *el Caudillo*.

The ailing dictator had been hospitalized with phlebitis, an inflammation of the veins, which was not con-

AP

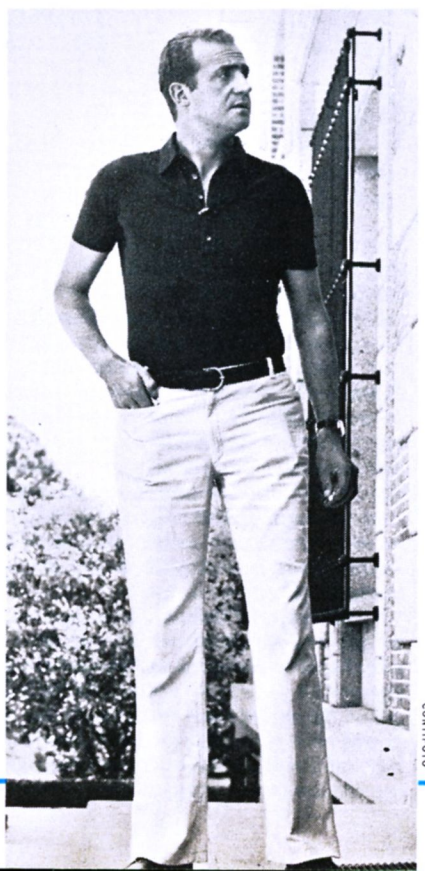
FRANCO & WIFE CARMEN AT A HOSPITAL IN MADRID LAST WEEK

The Enigma of Juan Carlos

Of all the uncertainties and imponderables that lie ahead for Spain, none is more baffling than the personage of Prince Juan Carlos Alphonso Victór María de Borbón y Borbón, grandson of King Alphonso XIII of Spain and great-great-grandson of Queen Victoria of England. He was chosen by Franco in 1969 to ascend the throne after his death, in the hope that the royal scion would assure an orderly succession and maintain the stern, one-party system that the dictator had created. Whether the enigmatic Prince, 36, can meet these hopes is as problematical as the currents of suppressed rage and rebellion that course through Spain. Some hard-line conservatives perceive the Prince as a weakling incapable of wielding power. Their choice may be Juan Carlos' cousin, Don Alfonso de Borbón y Dampierre, 38, husband of Franco's granddaughter. Traditional monarchists regard the Prince as a puppet of the *Caudillo* and prefer Juan Carlos' father, Don Juan, 61, the rightful pretender who is now in Portugal. Some liberals and radicals would rather have no monarchy at all. Only the army is solidly behind the Prince's accession—but it would abandon him if he should show signs of disturbing the status quo. Prince Juan Carlos himself, hovering last week over Franco's sickbed, remained an inscrutable figure.

Born amid the bloody chaos of the Spanish Civil War, he was shuttled with his family from one place of exile to another. At the age of ten the Prince was sent to Spain for the first time, alone, to be groomed for the throne by Franco. There was fear that the boy might be the victim of hemophilia, the congenital blood disease that was transmitted to the Borbóns by Queen Victoria's granddaughter. But the Prince was a healthy, if lonely child. Now 6 ft. 2 in. and athletic, Juan Carlos was even spared the heavy "Hapsburg" lower lip that is characteristic of his family.

PRINCE JUAN CARLOS IN MADRID



CONTIFOTO

Juan Carlos' education consisted of rigorous training in military academies and indoctrination in Franco's authoritarian philosophy. When the *Caudillo* officially selected him over Don Juan as the future King, his father's resentment increased the Prince's isolation. Franco has made Juan Carlos keep a low political profile. His few official functions, like cutting ribbons and dedicating projects, have been largely ceremonial. His public utterances have revealed little of his ideas about ruling Spain and his future role as King.

The Prince lives at state expense in the 20-room Zarzuela Palace, northwest of Madrid, with his wife, Princess Sofia of Greece, and their three children, Elena, 10, Cristina, 9, and Felipe, 6. He regularly receives important officials in Franco's regime at the palace and sometimes members of the "loyal opposition" and moderate liberals. Visitors report that he is better informed and more intelligent than his reputation suggests. His public image reflects the traditional sporting interests of a princeling. He is often photographed wearing his black karate belt or sailing his Dragon-class *La Fortuna;* he represented Spain in sailing competitions at the 1972 Munich Olympics. He also pilots a jet and a helicopter.

The U.S. State Department will certainly welcome Juan Carlos' accession, since it means a continuation of Franco's friendly policy toward America. The Prince's first act last week as temporary chief of state was to sign a joint U.S.-Spanish declaration of principles on military cooperation negotiated under Franco. It calls for "appropriate measures" for mutual defense in case of an attack on either nation.

sidered serious. But last week, after his condition worsened, Franco voluntarily made the decision to relinquish power. Officials emphasized that the transfer was only temporary.

Only the day before, the papers had published pictures of a smiling and apparently hale Franco, and a television film showed him chatting amiably with visitors and journalists. But after the somber bulletin, a special edition of Madrid's evening newspaper *Informaciones* was snapped up within minutes, and the capital was abuzz with rumors and speculation about Spain's future.

There were no signs of political unrest or of special police forces being moved into readiness round the city. Said Minister of Information and Tourism Pio Cabanillas: "There has been a perfect transfer of constitutional power without any signs of anxiety by the Spanish people." Not quite. Many Spaniards are worried that after Franco dies Spain's various long-thwarted factions will begin contesting for power. If that happens, political observers doubt whether the good-natured Juan Carlos would be able to maintain stability.

PORTUGAL

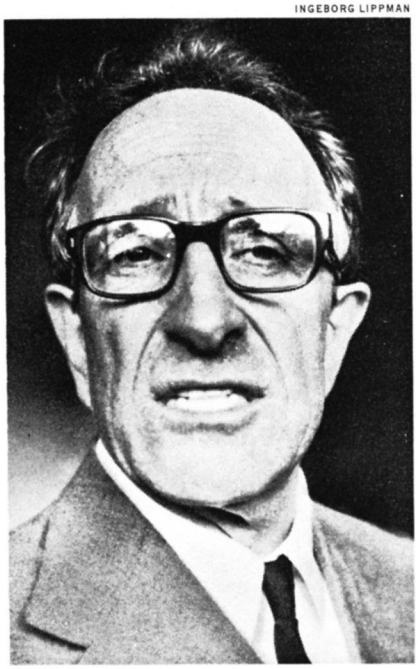
The Rebels' Second Coup

In Lisbon, they called them *os homens sem sonho*: the men who never sleep. They worked night and day, much to the dismay of more conventional politicians and bureaucrats addicted to Portugal's leisurely working hours and three-hour lunches, and they seemed equally tireless in keeping their identities hidden. Last week the young officers of the Armed Forces Movement, the rebel group that overthrew the regime of Marcello Caetano last April and ended half a century of dictatorial rule in Portugal, finally decided to flex their muscles publicly. In short order, the men of A.F.M. forced the resignation of civilian Prime Minister Adelino da Palma Carlos, a moderate, and got their own man installed as his successor. They then presided over the appointment of a new military-dominated Cabinet. As one Lisbon newspaper editor observed, "The young officers have carried out a second *coup d'état.*"

Obscure Choice. The swift turn of events climaxed the most uncertain week in Lisbon since the April coup and came as something of a rebuff to General António de Spínola, 64, the soldier-hero who has served since then as provisional President and has allowed an unprecedented measure of political freedom. Spínola's choice for Prime Minister after Palma Carlos' ouster had been conservative Defense Minister Lieut. Colonel Mario Firmino Miguel. Instead, the A.F.M. chose one of its own: an obscure army colonel, Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves, 53, a left-leaning officer-engineer and chief ideologist for the A.F.M. Later in the week, Spínola announced the new 16-member Cabinet. Though Spínola had never been an active member of the A.F.M., he was pushed into power by the group because of his great prestige, and obviously still retains considerable clout.

The new Cabinet maintains a semblance of the revolutionary government's political coloration, but civilian representation has been pared down. Socialist Leader Mario Soares remains as Foreign Minister, while the Communists' Alvaro Cunhal continues as a minister without portfolio. The Communists, however, lost the important labor post to a young air force captain, who presumably will be more inclined to take a tough stand against demands for higher wages. The Popular Democrats, a left-center party that had two portfolios in the old Cabinet, now have only one post.

INGEBORG LIPPMAN



PRIME MINISTER GONÇALVES
A new phase of discipline.

Seven key positions, including Labor, Internal Affairs and Mass Communication, go to military men.

In addition, Spínola announced the formation of a new security force, COPCON (for Commando Operacional do Continente), which will have the power to intervene to maintain order. Heading COPCON will be left-leaning Brigadier General Otelo Saraiva de Carvahlho, 37, the audacious young firebrand who organized the April revolution down to the tons of red carnations that suddenly blossomed all over the country as the rebels' symbol.

Spínola said that the changes will mean "a new phase with more discipline" and "reinforced authority." Even though the young officers lean to the left —and the events last week were interpreted as a triumph of the left over the right in the military—they have a reputation for being strict disciplinarians. They are unlikely to tolerate civil strife or excessive labor demands, which have plagued the country since the April coup. Gonçalves himself is considered so leftist that A.F.M. members denied last week that he is a Communist.

Silent Majority. Tall and visibly ill at ease in the limelight that his new role has cast on him, the Prime Minister is something of a father figure to the captains and majors who make up the A.F.M. After attending military college in Lisbon, Gonçalves, like many other Portuguese officers, went off to serve in the African territories, which for 14 years have been torn by guerrilla warfare waged by blacks. There, apparently, he came to share the disillusionment of many young officers about the government's policy of spending 40% of its annual budget to maintain control of the three territories.

Though the military has pledged that an Assembly will be popularly elected in March and write a new constitution, the country's political situation obviously remains precarious. Special-interest groups like the landed rich or the well-organized Communists could take advantage of the ferment to seize power. "The revolution was not made in order that power should pass from one extreme to the other to the detriment of the Portuguese people," Spínola declared. "If the silent majority does not wake up to defend its liberty, the 25th of April will have been in vain." Meanwhile, the military seems determined increasingly to exert its own control.

MIDDLE EAST

"Sink the *QE 2*"

It sounded like a farfetched sequel to *The Poseidon Adventure:* Egyptian President Anwar Sadat asserted last week that Britain's newest and most luxurious passenger liner, the *Queen Elizabeth 2,* was nearly torpedoed by an Egyptian submarine as the liner plowed through the Mediterranean with 590 Jewish passengers going to Israel's 25th anniversary celebrations in April 1973. Only his own intervention, Sadat said during an interview telecast over the BBC in London, aborted the attack.

Sadat said that "one of the Arab leaders"—by general agreement among Middle East specialists that could be Sadat's acerbic critic, Muammar Gaddafi of Libya—"had the idea to torpedo the *QE 2.* He tried to use one of my submarines and had issued the order already." The sub was at sea when Sadat learned what was going on and ordered its captain to return to his base at Alexandria. Sadat declined to explain how another Arab leader could issue orders to an Egyptian sub. Such an attack probably would have failed anyway, since both British and Israeli air and naval units were screening the liner against possible attack.

LIAISON

DAME SIBYL MANEUVERING ON SARK

SARK

Death of a Dame

Nearly all 560 subjects of the medieval fiefdom of Sark gathered last week around a gnarled oak tree in their parish churchyard to mourn Dame Sibyl Mary Collings Beaumont Hathaway, 21st Seigneur of Sark. She had died suddenly of a heart attack in her palatial home on Sark at the age of 90. During almost five decades of rule over the minuscule (4½ sq. mi.) Channel island, Dame Sibyl had labored to keep the 20th century at bay in what she pridefully called "the last bastion of feudalism in the modern world."

Chicken Tax. Holder of a hereditary fief granted by Queen Elizabeth I in 1565, she kept her latter-day serfs in most agreeable thrall. "What was good enough for William the Conqueror is good enough for us!" was the *grande dame's* battle cry against the incursions of modernity. As a result of her efforts, the farmers and fishermen of Sark pay not a farthing of British income taxes; neither are they plagued by automobiles, transistor radios and unemployment. The tribute Dame Sibyl exacted from the islanders included the traditional tenth sheaf of all cereals harvested and a live chicken each year as tax on every kitchen chimney on her tenants' houses. Even so, she observed with her usual wryness, "they only give me the thinnest and oldest." Other seigneurial privileges included the right to keep bitches, forbidden to the Sarkese for fear that a proliferation of dogs might drive sheep over the island's 300-ft. cliffs into the English Channel. That noble prerogative caused one of the rare Sark rebellions against Dame Sibyl's authority. The islanders overruled her prohibition, and bitches are now allowed on Sark—provided they are spayed, of course.

Maintaining the islet of anachronisms was no joke for Dame Sibyl. Nor was it merely a commercial venture designed to bring 50,000 tourists to Sark each year to savor medieval folkways and buy tax-free cigarettes and liquor. "Sark is not a sort of feudal pageant to amuse visitors," she wrote in her autobiography *Dame of Sark*. "It is a real live community of people who are happy to have retained their ancient form of government, and possess a subtle dignity of their own, born of many years of independence, honorable work and satisfied old age." Dame Sibyl often complained that it was not easy to maintain the unchanging character of Sark. For example telephones, electricity, and tractors have been allowed in. She noted that "it is not easy now to get horses suitable for drawing our carriages. Some of the carriages themselves are 100 years old and it is hard to get wheel replacements and so on for them."

When the Nazis occupied the Channel Islands in World War II, Dame Sibyl heroically remained on Sark, to keep up the islanders' morale and "to look after them," as she put it. That included maintaining a haughty refusal to listen to any orders from the Germans, who helplessly fell under her commanding charm. Later, recalling the Occupation, she said: "We experienced near starvation. Although I never doubted we would win, it was the complete isolation—apart from the occasional Red Cross messages and BBC broadcasts—that was so depressing." Her eldest son died in the war, and she survived two husbands. In recent years, the crippled old lady maneuvered her electric cart along Sark's unpaved roads, greeting every islander by name. "So long as my life may be extended," she said, "I shall strive to maintain this little feudal paradise, with all its traditions, laws and customs, as an oasis of quiet and rest."

Feudal Utopia. Last week Dame Sibyl's grandson and heir, Michael Beaumont, 46, took leave from his job as a design engineer of guided missiles at the British Aircraft Corp. and prepared to move into the Seigneurie, the manor house of Sark. The 22nd Seigneur of Sark showed every sign of preserving his grandmother's feudal utopia. "We want to keep the island quiet and peaceful," he asserted. "I believe the life of a seigneur to be infinitely more rewarding than making weapons of war."

Terror at the Tower

The almost 900-year-old dungeon in the Tower of London, where historic heroes like Sir Walter Raleigh and villains like Guy Fawkes were once imprisoned, was jammed with the usual crowd of summer tourists last week. Suddenly, the three-ton 18th century Royal George cannon, a favorite exhibit with children, exploded with a deafening roar. The blast hurled the bronze gun barrel five feet into the air, showered bystanders with lethal splinters from the oak carriage, and blew out windows and a door 90 feet above.

The Tower's red-and-black-clad Yeoman Warders (the Beefeaters) scrambled to carry the injured out of the basement. Said Armory Warder Harry Harrington: "It was just like wartime. There was a woman with her leg off, kids with no clothes." When the dust settled, 37 persons, including eight children, had been injured. Two of the victims lost their legs, and a child's foot was found beneath the cannon. One British woman, Dorothy Household, 47, died later that night.

Police said that the explosion had been caused by a 10-lb. plastic bomb, planted under the cannon. Two minutes before it went off, a man identifying himself as a member of the Irish Republican Army phoned the London *Daily Mirror* saying: "We are planting bombs." He failed to say where the bombs were.

TOWER BASEMENT AFTER BLAST

TOPIX

BOXER—PICTORIAL

LIZA WITH NEXT HUSBAND JACK HALEY JR.

JOHN FAIRFAX & SONS LTD.

JOAN SUTHERLAND IN SYDNEY

"I only know what I read in the paper," said Australian Songwriter **Peter Allen,** 30, commenting on reports that his wife **Liza Minnelli,** 28, will marry Movie Producer **Jack Haley Jr.,** 40. Then he signed official divorce papers, saying "When you've been separated longer than you were married, it's time to get a divorce." Peter and Liza were married in 1967 but have lived apart since 1970. He denies that marriage to an ambitious star maimed his own career as a singer. "I found out I was a writer rather than a performer." Now Peter is working on an album of his own songs. "I wanted to call it *Overnight Success,*" he said ironically, "but I've settled on *Just Ask Me, I've Been There.*"

■

Back home in Sydney for only the second time in 23 years, Australian Soprano **Joan Sutherland,** 47, wasted no time in exercising a native's prerogative. She criticized the city's flamboyant new $148.5 million opera house that perches on the harbor like a multi-winged gull. "I can see it's too small," said 5 ft. 10 in. Joan before she made her operatic debut there in Offenbach's *Tales of Hoffmann.* "The designer is even making my costumes smaller so the scale is right." Then she added, "What you need now is an opera house." She grew more conciliatory later, after an audience of 1,547 acclaimed La Stupenda rapturously at the opera's end, pelting her with 600 red roses specially sent to chilly Sydney from Holland for the occasion.

■

He is an improbable easy rider. At San Clemente, the President's press secretary **Ron Ziegler,** 35, has abandoned his car and makes the 16-mile run between the Western White House and the Laguna Beach press headquarters by Honda CB-360. Ziegler, donning crash helmet and tennis shoes, leaps on the borrowed bike and threads his way through traffic more easily than he picks his way through reporters' questions. To show off his new skills, Ron even gave a demonstration to a posse of reporters on a back road, only to run out of gas and wheeze to a halt under the unblinking gaze of a herd of Herefords. Said one wry observer: "After Evel Knievel has jumped the Grand Canyon, Ron is going to top his act—he's going to try to jump the credibility gap."

DIRCK HALSTEAD

RON ZEIGLER COMMUTING IN CALIFORNIA

■

Wake up, America. Come January, early-morning television will once again be burnished by a blond. Not the ill-fated **Sally Quinn** but **John V. Lindsay,** 52. ABC is putting up to bat against NBC's highly rated *Today* show their own news-*cum*-interviews program, *AM America.* Former New York City Mayor Lindsay will appear once a week as a guest commentator and interviewer. After many years' experience in amateur theatricals, including political conventions, Matinee Idol Lindsay will also make his movie debut soon. This week in Paris he joins the cast of **Otto Preminger's** *Rosebud,* playing a cameo role for which he probably feels well rehearsed—that of a U.S. Senator. He wouldn't say whom he is modeling his performance on, "The part is a tiny bit pompous, so I have much to choose from." The film is just a diversion ("Traveling in Europe," he explained, "is expensive"), but Lindsay is more serious about the TV show. In Manhattan, **Barbara Walters** noted that her partner on *Today* is still undisclosed and sounded alarmed: "I wonder if NBC has thought of asking **Mayor Beame** to be my co-host?"

■

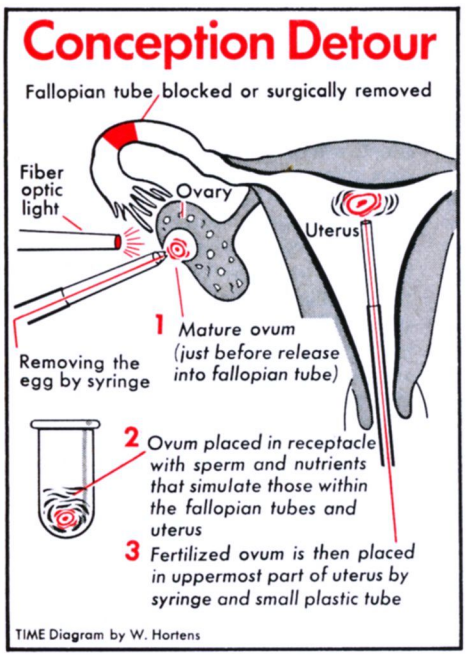
The 1973 Triple Crown winner **Penny Chenery Tweedy** has been out of the money all year. Wonder Horse Secretariat, whom she sold to a syndicate for $6,080,000, appeared at first to be a stud failure. Then her Meadow Stable's most likely comers, Capital Asset and Capito failed to win a stake. Now it turns out even Mrs. Tweedy's husband Jack finished up the track. "We were married for 25 years and things just ground to a halt," said Penny last week from Long Island about her impending divorce from Jack, an executive V.P. of the California-based Oil Shale Corp. A major problem occurred when he moved to Los Angeles. Obviously aware that East Coast fillies have not done well in the West, Penny explained, "I realized I was never going to move out there. You can call it a conflict of careers."

■

The U.S. v. *John Lennon?* The U.S. Justice Department announced that if ex-Beatle **John Lennon,** 33, does not shake American dust off his boots by Sept. 10, he will be forcibly deported. In 1968 a gallant Lennon pleaded guilty in London to possession of enough grass for 40 joints in order to avoid, he said, dragging Pregnant **Yoko Ono** through the courts. But when John and Yoko arrived to live in the U.S. in 1971, John only got a six-month visa—unrenewable, it turned out, because of his conviction. John appealed his fate. Last week the appeal was rejected by the immigration service, and now his lawyers plan to take the case into federal court. If that fails, John, who is now sulking in Los Angeles, still has a prayer. In Manhattan, his estranged wife Yoko Ono said, "Let's think positively. I believe in prayer, and so do millions of people who love him."

The Baby Maker

About 15% of all women who want to bear children fail to conceive, many of them because of defects in their fallopian tubes. In England last week there was a flurry of optimism about a successful treatment for some of these would-be mothers. A respected, pioneering obstetrician-gynecologist reported that in three cases a ripe egg cell had been removed from a wife and fertilized in a laboratory by sperm from her husband; then the resulting conceptus had been implanted in the wife's womb and she had given birth to a normal child. The three babies thus conceived are now from twelve to 18 months old. But optimism faded fast with the news that the doctor had failed in 30 other attempts to duplicate his successes, and was giving up the work.



What first disturbed medical scientists was the way in which this possibly historic development was announced. Dr. Douglas C.A. Bevis, 55, of the University of Leeds was about to address the British Medical Association on "Embryo Implants." But before he did so, he handed out a press release reporting the three lab-assisted pregnancies, which he did not mention in his formal paper. He refused to admit that he had made the implants himself, although it seemed evident that he had, or had directed them. He did say that he knew one baby "is well and developing normally as far as I can tell."

Bevis had long been preparing for implantations. Early in 1972 he said he was looking for the right patient. "When I find her, I am in a position to go ahead, but we cannot guarantee that this will be a success the first time." The reason for his doubt was that no one knows precisely what physiological mechanisms prepare the uterus to receive the conceptus and retain it.

Normally a woman of childbearing age ovulates once every lunar month, an average of 14 days before the expected onset of menstruation. Her ovaries then expel one or more egg cells, ripe for fertilization. An individual egg (ovum) is drawn into the fallopian tube (oviduct) to begin a four-day journey toward the uterus. After intercourse, the husband's spermatozoa swim upstream through the uterus into the fallopian tubes, and if one sperm succeeds in penetrating an ovum, conception has occurred. The conceptus, repeatedly doubling the number of its cells, enters the uterus and imbeds itself in the lining for the remainder of the nine months' gestation.

Common causes of infertility are blockage or surgical removal of the oviducts so that the egg cannot meet the sperm. Bevis and several other investigators on both sides of the Atlantic reasoned that this roadblock might be bypassed if: 1) ripe ova were removed through a small surgical incision in the abdomen, 2) one was fertilized by the husband's sperm (obtained by masturbation), 3) the conceptus was kept alive and subdividing in glassware for a few days, and finally 4) it was implanted in the wife's uterus. Bevis succeeded in keeping the conceptus alive in what he calls "a complicated cocktail of nutrients and antibiotics," with as many as 40 ingredients.

Critical Storm. Bevis was beset by worry that a laboratory-conceived baby might be malformed, which his three were not, though it is too early to be sure of their mental capacity. Just where he performed his successful implants is unclear. In the storm of professional criticism that broke around his head, it was reported that two of the babies are in England and the third is in Italy. Bevis properly insisted on concealing his patients' identities and refused a newspaper's offer of $72,000 to reveal them.

Bevis reacted bitterly to his critics, although they were aiming not at his accomplishment but at the unprofessional manner of its disclosure, with no scientific data. The failure of so many implants was to be expected and therefore caused Bevis less anguish than his inability to explain the three successes. Both Leeds University and St. James's Hospital, where he has treated patients, were willing to let him continue the work. But Bevis, declaring himself "fed up" with all the publicity—which he had not shunned before—announced: "I am certainly not going on with individual fertilization. I have utterly made my mind up—I am abandoning all this work as of yesterday." He added that he would write a scientific paper on the procedure but did not say when.

The Andromeda Fear

Soon after Britain's Dr. Douglas Bevis *(see story above)* abruptly quit his work on fertilization-implantation techniques, eleven eminent U.S. investigators, including one Nobel laureate, Dr. James D. Watson, declared that they are halting certain experiments in genetic manipulation of bacteria. Their reason: fear that if they do not stop, they may inadvertently loose upon the world new forms of life—semisynthetic organisms that could cause epidemics, or resist control by antibiotics, or increase the incidence of cancer.

The researchers tried to avoid the horrific words biological warfare, but the possibility that their work might be subverted to that inhuman end haunted them. The U.S. investigators, having taken a step with few or no precedents in the history of science, also urged their colleagues round the world to follow their lead until potential hazards can be better evaluated and controlled.

The real origin of this concern was the discovery in 1953 at Cambridge University by Watson and Dr. Francis Crick that the pattern of all life forms is determined by a double-helical molecule of deoxyribonucleic acid, or DNA. Since then other investigators have found ways of cutting a long nucleic-acid molecule, by chemical means, into shorter pieces that can then be recombined. These snippets can now be incorporated into bacteria to create, in effect, new microorganisms whose potential for causing disease in plants, animals or man himself is as yet unknown.*

What makes the prospect especially hazardous is that one of the molecular biologists' favorite tools is the bacterium *Escherichia coli,* which inhabits every human bowel, is present in normal excrement and is highly amenable to laboratory manipulation. Its natural form is dangerous only when it runs rampant in an accidental or surgical wound or in organs other than the gastrointestinal tract. But a laboratory mutant might cause a plague of infectious disease resistant to available antibiotics. Altered DNA can be dynamite.

The scientists, whose views are being published in two leading journals, *Science* and *Nature,* conceded that some research may have to be abandoned, or at least deferred, under their plan.

*Such diseases would result from a reshuffling of genes and not from new genetic material like the virus from outer space in Michael Crichton's 1969 novel (later a movie), *The Andromeda Strain.*

POLICY

Seeking New Solutions

After months of punishing inflation and sputtering production, public confidence in the Nixon Administration's management of the economy is fast running out. Last week, in a flurry of activity at San Clemente, the President sought to restore credibility to his programs. He held a well-publicized round of meetings with his top economic aides, Adviser Kenneth Rush, Budget Director Roy Ash and Herbert Stein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers —in what amounted to an economic summit meeting. This week the President was expected to make a major nationwide speech on the economy.

New Leaders. In addition, it seemed all but certain that the President would soon bring fresh leadership to the White House and name Alan Greenspan, a respected conservative economist and unofficial Nixon consultant, to succeed Stein as CEA chairman. The appointment will probably be announced soon. If, as expected, Greenspan is approved by the Senate Banking Committee, he will take up his new duties by September, when Stein returns to the faculty of the University of Virginia.

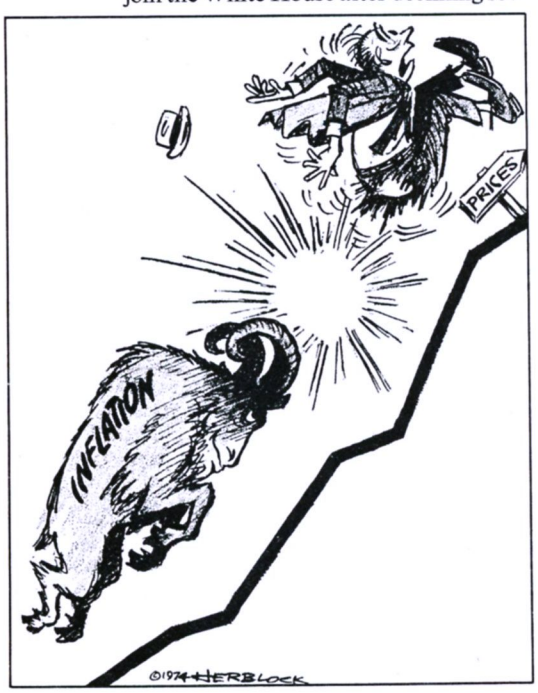
Unlike almost all past CEA chiefs, who were academics, Greenspan is a Manhattan business consultant who heads his own firm, Townsend-Greenspan & Co. Quietly persuasive, erudite and a master of detail, Greenspan will join the White House after declining several previous invitations with the understanding that his views will carry substantial weight. Among many economists, Republican and Democratic, Greenspan's appointment would be seen as a gain for the Administration. Walter Heller, who under President Kennedy was probably the most effective CEA chief, believes that Greenspan has "as good qualifications as any conservative economist you can find."

A staunch free-marketeer, Greenspan abhors wage-price controls, approves of a firm rein on money supply. Thus, philosophically, he is not likely to quarrel with the present direction of Administration policy. But he will probably work for a shift in emphasis. As a member of TIME's Board of Economists, Greenspan once summed up what he believed were the three key elements in economic management: "The budget, the budget and the budget." Greenspan will probably push strongly for a sterner approach to reducing Government spending. To him, almost every budget item—Social Security and health and welfare payments, military outlays, crop supports—should be considered for pruning.

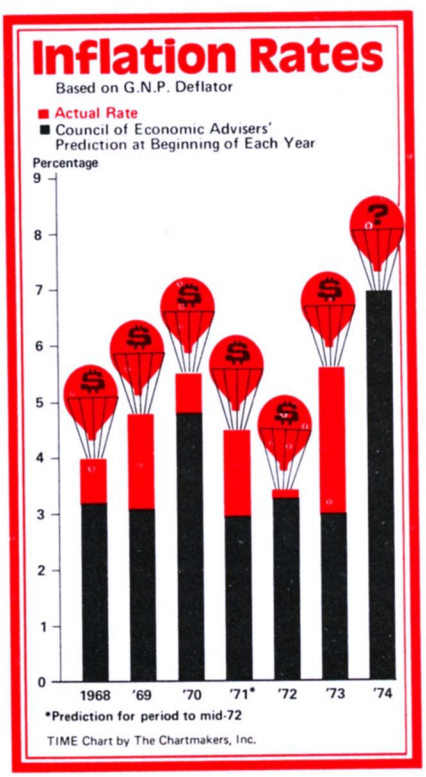
Greenspan will face an imposing challenge in his new job. Last week, for example, the Government disclosed that consumer prices in June climbed 1% over the previous month, or at a scorching annual rate of 12%. The Commerce Department reported that the nation's output of goods and services, after dropping 7% in the first quarter, fell another 1.2% in the second. Though according to the most popular definition two consecutive quarters of decline in gross national product add up to recession, many economists do not believe that the slide has reached that stage yet.

New Fissures. Meanwhile, new fissures were opened in the Administration's policy façade by Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, who last week called for a return to voluntary wage-price restraints. Burns also urged restoration of a Cost of Living Council shorn of enforcement powers but able to bring the pressure of public opinion on corporations and unions seeking exorbitant increases. Such proposals run directly counter to the views of the President, who is opposed to even the mildest Government intervention to moderate wage-price boosts.

Greenspan's appointment would come at a time when the CEA's reputation among economists and Congressmen is at an alltime low. Created under the 1946 Employment Act in part to provide the President with the best professional advice on reducing the jobless rate, the council has had its share of controversy. For example, Congress became so antagonized by CEA Chief Leon Keyserling's partisan support of Truman Administration policies that President Eisenhower let the council go out of business briefly in 1953.



"I'm getting tired of these summit trips."



"Our economic operation has been an unqualified success, as the autopsy will undoubtedly show . . ."

Under the Nixon Administration, especially during Stein's stewardship, the council has become little more than a political appendage. Stein's rosy interpretations of the most dismal economic news have become a Washington joke. Less humorous was Stein's decision to deliver blatantly political speeches during the 1972 presidential race. Stein's electioneering irritated influential congressional Democrats and made it difficult for the Administration to get a fair hearing for its policies.

As CEA boss, Greenspan would probably want to keep a low political profile and work for bipartisan support of White House programs. He sees the chairman's job as "strictly that of an adviser, not a policymaker or a propagator of policy." Yet Greenspan would be by far the most knowledgeable of Nixon's top economic aides, none of whom are economists. It is likely that, willingly or not, he will quickly become the Administration's chief economic spokesman.

AP

STRIKING STATE EMPLOYEES PICKETING THE STATEHOUSE IN COLUMBUS
A pattern of increasing militancy, both private and public.

LABOR

Uncivil Servants

If there were any lingering hopes that the long era of labor peace might continue, they vanished last week. Hoping to catch up with double-digit inflation, a record number of workers were walking picket lines. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service reported that more than 600 work stoppages —the most since the agency began keeping records 15 years ago—involving 230,000 workers were in progress.

National Airlines, the nation's tenth largest carrier, canceled all of its flights after the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers walked out July 15. In Lordstown, Ohio, production of Chevrolet Vegas was halted when a United Auto Workers' unit struck, and in Midland, Mich., a United Steelworkers' unit reached a tentative settlement of an 18-week work stoppage against Dow Chemical Co.

Bad Future. Bad as things looked, the future looks even worse. The 500,000-member Communications Workers of America turned down an offer by the Bell Telephone System of a 10% pay increase and authorized union locals to take a strike vote. In the vital coal industry, the opening salvos were fired in what seemed likely to become an all-out offensive by the United Mine Workers. The union briefly threatened to stage a nationwide work stoppage to pressure a subsidiary of North Carolina's Duke Power Co., which is resisting U.M.W. efforts to organize its workers. U.M.W. President Arnold Miller will be negotiating his first contract when the current pact expires Nov. 12, and the pressure is on him to bring a big pay increase.

Perhaps most ominous, civil servants were showing a distinctly uncivil tendency to walk off their jobs. In Baltimore, the walkout by 3,000 trash collectors, jail guards, zookeepers and other city workers ended when the city and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees reached agreement on a new contract that made a mockery of Mayor William D. Schaefer's vow to hold pay increases to 6%. Garbage men's salaries will leap 20½%, from $3.42 an hour to $4.12, by July 1975, while policemen's will soar 22%, to a maximum of $13,500 a year.

The situation was also serious in Ohio, where 7,000 A.F.S.C.M.E. members and 3,000 other state employees represented by other unions walked off their jobs. The strike began after the state legislature went into summer recess without voting a 31¢-an-hour increase for the 81,000 state employees. The strikers were particularly incensed because Ohio racked up an $80.5 million budget surplus in the past fiscal year. As the A.F.S.C.M.E. vowed that it would "shut down the State of Ohio," the strike hit prisons, mental hospitals and state-controlled liquor stores. Fearing that the strike would close the state's 290 liquor stores, many Ohioans ventured into Indiana to stock up on potables. National Guardsmen who were dispatched to the maximum-security prison in Lucasville were unable to penetrate the massed pickets at the prison gates; the Guardsmen entered the penitentiary by helicopter.

The strike ended when a legislative committee allocated $22 million for pay raises, ranging from 30¢ an hour for 41,000 employees whose salaries were less than $8,000 a year, to 10¢ an hour for those making more than $12,000. The strikers reluctantly accepted the offer, but they warned that they would soon be back for another raise. Said Karl Stewart, executive secretary of the 30,000-member Ohio Civil Service Employees Association:* "This was just one battle. The war is still on."

Government employees have been growing increasingly militant for more than a decade. In 1960 there were only 15 strikes involving 1,700 federal, state and local workers, *v.* 375 strikes affecting 142,100 workers in 1972. The 700,000 member A.F.S.C.M.E. is the fastest-growing labor union, gaining 1,000 new members a week. Its leaders are lobbying hard in Congress for passage of a law that would guarantee public workers (except policemen and firemen) the right to strike. Meanwhile, an increasing number of local governments are in a predicament: in order to finance the pay boosts workers are demanding and getting, they have to raise taxes or face the possibility that garbage will not be collected and streets not be protected. As A.F.S.C.M.E. President Jerry Wurf has warned, "This is going to be a busy year. We've got a lot of catching up to do."

TRADE

Simon's Tough Tour

Secretary of the Treasury William E. Simon jetted about the Middle East last week on two precarious assignments. The sketchy economic agreements that President Nixon struck during his own tour last month had to be translated into workable programs and, even more important, avenues had to be explored for easing the impact of higher Arab oil prices. The trip took Simon from the French Riviera to Cairo, Jerusalem and Jidda; he ran into somewhat less trouble in Arabia than on the pleasant beaches of the Riviera.

The Secretary and his entourage of 40 stopped first in Nice to bone up on research materials and let some accumu-

*The O.C.S.E.A. did not officially join the strike, although many of its members stayed off the job.

UPI

EGYPT'S SADAT & DEPUTY PREMIER HEGAZI GREET SIMON IN ALEXANDRIA
Is the Shah of Iran a nut?

lated jet lag unwind—but a Simon *faux pas* made the brief stopover more eventful than that. Sunning on the beach with Willard C. Rappleye Jr., editor of the *American Banker,* he expressed in pungent terms his longstanding opinion of the Shah of Iran,* who is pushing for higher and higher oil prices and whose nation was pointedly not among the countries that the Secretary would be visiting. Said Simon: "The Shah is a nut." He later explained that he meant the description only in the sense that someone might be a "nut about tennis or golf."

Brass Tacks. In Cairo, the Secretary and Egyptian Deputy Premier Abdel Aziz Hegazi paved the way for the private investment that Egyptian planners hope will revitalize their country's flagging economy. President Anwar Sadat had already announced extensive plans for free-trade zones, but it remained for Simon and Hegazi to nail down three crucial brass tacks: 1) an agreement to reinstate a 1963 accord, suspended after the Six-Day War, that pledges Egypt not to expropriate U.S. property without compensation, 2) a plan for a "joint development institute" in Cairo to advise U.S. firms on the feasibility of Egyptian projects, and 3) the creation of "senior working groups" of Egyptian and U.S. technocrats to survey periodically such development needs as the re-equipping of the Suez Canal. No sooner had the agreements been reached than they began to pay off. Representatives of Marriott Corp. arrived to plan a 700-room hotel that Marriott will operate for the Egyptians, and this week Charles J. Pilliod Jr., chairman of Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., is scheduled to discuss a tire plant.

The talks between Hegazi and Simon were lively and flexible. Simon never hesitated to break in with questions. When Hegazi was asked at a news conference whether he was happy with the $250 million in U.S. aid requested of Congress for Egypt, he had an adroit answer. If the U.S. could give Israel $2.2 billion in military aid, he said, then surely the same amount in nonmilitary help should be reasonable for Egypt.

Maintaining his pace, Simon began a series of meetings with government officials almost immediately upon his arrival in Jerusalem. With inflation running at an annual rate of 23% and capital reserves rapidly depleting, the Israelis needed all the help they could get. Simon, however, had little to offer: Israeli hopes for an annual commitment of $1.5 billion for the next five years was in the hands of Congress, not the Administration. To help stanch the hemorrhage of reserves, he proposed an Israeli-U.S. trade council, similar to the Soviet-U.S. Trade Council, to encourage U.S. businessmen to invest in Israel.

At week's end the Secretary flew off to his greatest challenge—persuading King Faisal to invest his excess oil dollars in U.S. Treasury securities. Simon expects Arab oil revenues this year to reach about $60 billion, two-thirds of which he anticipates will be kept in the Arab world, leaving about $20 billion free. In Jidda, the former Wall Street securities dealer launched an effort to sell the King on investing $10 billion of his surplus in U.S. Government notes that would pay about the same as Treasury bills. Even if the Saudis accept his proposal, the notes—and the solution—will only be short term, leaving the imbalance caused by rising oil prices as intractable a problem as it was before.

*In a February television interview, the Shah said that during the oil embargo the U.S. "had imported more oil than at any time in the past." Simon described the statement as "irresponsible and just plain ridiculous."

IRAN

Buying into Krupp

The fabled Essen-based Krupp industrial empire, which supplied munitions for Germany's military forays for more than a century, was owned entirely by the Krupp family in 1967 when near bankruptcy forced the Krupps to relinquish control. But ownership still remained exclusively German, with 95% of Fried. Krupp Hüttenwerke AG, the steel-producing operating company, in the hands of a foundation. Last week, the Iranian government and the management of Krupp announced that Iran would acquire a fourth of Hüttenwerke's shares—at an estimated cost of $100 million.

The purchase, which is scheduled to become effective by October, will be the first major long-term investment of swelling Middle Eastern oil dollars in Western Europe, and was welcomed with relief by bankers and governments alike. Europe's banks still face a liquidity squeeze that was triggered in part by the requirement to "recycle" petrodollars, which up to now have gone largely into high-turnover short-term investments. Bonn government officials see such investments as giving the oil-producing countries a stake in the world's major trading nations, thus perhaps assuring less reckless oil-price policies.

Ideal Marriage. The Krupp acquisition reflects Iran's ambitious industrialization plans. Hardly a week goes by without new commitments to mutual ventures or economic assistance to less developed countries, and one estimate is that the program already has resulted in outlays of some $9 billion. Iran and Krupp plan to set up a joint investment bank in Switzerland to finance projects outside West Germany. The steel-company acquisition is viewed by both Iranians and Krupp executives as an ideal marriage: Iran needs Krupp's technical know-how, and Krupp needs the infusion of capital from Iran. Last year, the company produced 3.1 million tons of iron and 4.3 million tons of steel, and generated $1 billion of Krupp's worldwide sales of $3 billion.

U.S. Financiers have long felt that a great deal of the oil producers' new wealth will ultimately find its way into the American securities markets, where it is badly needed—and, no one seemed disconcerted last week that Europe and not the U.S. had received the first major chunk. There are a lot of petrodollars to go around. Kuwait recently has begun pumping money into shares of unidentified U.S. and European companies, and Abu Dhabi plans to buy a major interest in a big office building in London. Sultan Qabus bin Said of Oman even got into the act last week: he reportedly paid $4 million for a German hotel and 4,000 surrounding acres. He wants to turn it into a summer residence for his mother.

How to Mobilize Against Inflation

Inflation may be becoming to the 1970s what depression was to the 1930s—not only an economic agony but a crisis that threatens the stability of society. Like the Great Depression four decades ago, today's Great Inflation has struck a blow at Americans' usual optimism about the future and replaced it with a deep worry—about whether families will be able to afford travel, comfortable housing, quality education for their children, even the foods they like best.

Millions of people justifiably feel that the economy is cheating them of the rewards of hard work and thrift. A few more years of skyrocketing prices that wipe out much of the middle class and reduce some Americans to eating dog food could well cause many voters to question whether a system so fundamentally flawed can endure.

The public demoralization is being vastly increased by a gnawing fear that no one knows how to stop inflation in a modern democratic capitalist economy. The Government swings erratically from price controls to a free market, from budget stimulation to budget cutting, from easy money to tight money; nothing seems to work for long. Economists discussing anti-inflation strategy have rarely been so modest and tentative; several seem confident only in proclaiming that their colleagues' ideas will not work.

ALFRED GESCHEIDT

Modesty is advisable: inflation is in fact the most torturingly complex problem of modern economics. It seems inextricably bound up with growth and high employment; a quick and sure solution might be achieved by inducing another depression—but that would be too severe a cure. Moreover, inflation has become a worldwide plague (TIME cover, April 8). The U.S., even if it can control the economic sickness within its own borders, might be subject to reinfection from abroad.

But if no quick, final cure is in sight, the Government still has an obligation to act. The economy, to be sure, is not completely manageable by Washington, but there are a number of policy actions that could be taken to greatly reduce inflation's severity. And in dealing with inflation, degree is crucial; the difference between price increases at annual rates of, say, 6% and 12% is the difference between excessive social drinking and incapacitating alcoholism.

The steps are slow-working and painful. Worse, they sound like a prescription for ensuring the defeat of any President who tries them, since they amount to taking on every vested interest in the economy at once. So there will be a strong temptation to avoid them and hope that a recent downturn in inflation—from an annual rate of 12.3% in the first quarter to 8.8% in the second—continues on its own. But that improvement is scarcely satisfactory; the Government must do all it can to bring the rate down further.

The first essential is to hold down federal spending and reduce the rate of increase in the U.S. money supply. That classic remedy for inflation has been advocated so often that Administration officials refer to it as "the old-time religion." It means slow growth, sluggish profits, distressing unemployment. So it is not surprising that the old-time religion has been more often preached than followed.

Right now, the Federal Reserve Board is acting the role of zealous convert. In 1972 and early 1973 it pumped out enough money to overstimulate a booming economy; money supply in the last quarter of 1972 grew at a startling annual rate of 8.4%. Lately the board has held the increase to a rate of about 6%, a growth much slower than the explosive—and inflationary—surge in demand for business loans. Interest rates have consequently gone into orbit. But as Alan Greenspan, who is Nixon's choice to become head of the Council of Economic Advisers, has pointed out, that policy has been pushed close to the point at which it will self-destruct. Savings and loan associations and savings banks cannot effectively compete with commercial banks for funds in the tight money market, and some may soon teeter on the edge of collapse. If so, the Federal Reserve would have to come to their rescue as "lender of last resort"—and that would mean another massive, inflationary increase in the money supply. The Federal Reserve, in other words, cannot fight inflation all by itself; it needs help from Administration budget makers—who, while preaching fiscal conservatism, have run up a cumulative deficit of $68 billion in five years.

Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns called last week for a $10 billion cut in Government spending for fiscal 1975, which is budgeted at $305 billion, *v.* $270 billion in the last fiscal year. President Nixon himself has said that expenditures should be held to $300 billion, at which point they might just be balanced by growing revenues, but he has postponed the hard decisions about where to cut. Small wonder. The choice will have to be made from a herd of sacred cows: military spending, veterans' benefits, revenue-sharing aid to states and cities.

The size and specifics of any cut in this year's budget are less important than that the Administration, the Federal Reserve and Congress all determine to apply fiscal-monetary restraint for as long as is necessary. The policy need not be pressed hard enough to cause a recession. Rather, the strategy should be to permit some real growth, but keep the budget and monetary brakes on hard enough to hold total demand for several years slightly below the economy's capacity to increase the output of goods and services, until the inflationary momentum at last subsides.

Such a hold-down would set up severe strains in the economy, which the Government must be prepared to ease. For one thing, credit would remain scarce and costly, especially for small businessmen and home buyers. To prevent big corporations from gobbling up all the loan money, the Government would have to nag bankers to turn down some loans and perhaps institute credit controls if they refused.

A long-term program of holding down demand would mean that for years the nation could not reduce the jobless rate to the 4% "full employment" level; unemployment might well rise beyond the present 5.2%. The unemployed, of course,

cannot be callously written off—but heating up the whole economy to the point at which employers are eager to hire everyone who turns up is at present a sure prescription for accelerating inflation. Instead, the jobless should be helped by higher unemployment benefits, public-service employment programs, massive job-training efforts to give them marketable skills—and the budget should be cut in other places to provide the money.

Even a consistently pursued policy of fiscal and monetary restraint, however, would not defeat inflation by itself. It should be reinforced by an array of other policies, all of which should be put into effect together. No one of these policies is likely to have much impact on its own, but cumulatively they could put a substantial dent in the inflation rate.

For one thing, the President—possibly acting through a revived Cost of Living Council—should monitor wage-price increases in key industries with a baleful eye and demand from Congress stand-by authority to roll back those that are far out of line. Even liberal economists are generally reluctant to go back to comprehensive wage-price controls. But in a highly inflationary climate, the Government must try to counter the temptation for unions and companies to push for the biggest increases that their raw economic power would temporarily command. Indeed, many economists fear that high wage demands are about to replace shortages as the prime inflationary force in the economy—and the Government cannot persuade labor leaders to moderate them unless it makes a conscientious effort to restrain business too. The President, as wielder of the nation's largest jawbone, should define what wage and price behavior is responsible and focus public opinion pressure against increases that violate the guidelines. In order to assure that he is listened to, he needs the authority to order occasional rollbacks.

■

A resurrected Cost of Living Council or some other body should also monitor the Government's own price behavior. As economists tirelessly point out, Government departments and regulatory agencies, in an effort to please narrow constituencies, often adopt policies that spur rather than slow inflation. For example, the Agriculture Department is now buying up $100 million worth of "excess" beef and pork in a deliberate effort to keep prices paid to farmers and feed-lot operators from dropping. Federal regulatory agencies often set railroad, truck and barge freight rates high enough to protect the most inefficient carriers from competitive damage. A separate federal agency should be empowered specifically to watch for such practices and try to get them stopped.

ALFRED GESCHEIDT

The Government should also explore all possible ways to increase the productivity, or output per man-hour, of the nation's work force. High productivity enables employers to grant wage increases without raising prices, but U.S. productivity fell at an annual rate of 5.5% in this year's first quarter.

As a first step toward reversing that trend, Congress should legislate extra tax credits for companies that have superior productivity records. The tax credit now granted on the purchase of new equipment, says Michael Evans, president of Chase Econometric Associates, a subsidiary of Chase Manhattan Corp., "is too broad-based. It gives the same 7% for everything from office furniture to industrial machines. It could be more stratified; it could give more emphasis to productivity." The President, by jawboning through the Department of Labor and Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, should also press for more labor-management agreements that phase out featherbedding and other make-work practices.

Finally, the Administration should ask Congress to wipe off the books a complex of outdated laws and practices that keep prices high for the benefit of special constituencies. Every economist has a long list of these that has turned yellow with age. Among them: the Davis-Bacon Act, which guarantees that construction workers on federal projects receive the often inflationary prevailing wage in the area where they work. The Jones Act prevents shippers from using low-cost foreign vessels to haul their goods from one U.S. port to another, and the "Buy American" Act forbids the Government to buy from foreign suppliers unless their bids are at least 6% below those of U.S. companies. Quotas still hold down imports of foreign textiles, steel and butter. Misnamed Fair Trade laws in 15 states, authorized by a federal enabling act, prevent retailers from cutting prices on many brand-named goods. The key to getting rid of these outrageous anomalies is to attack them all at once by putting together something like an "Omnibus Inflation Control Bill of 1974" that could win broad public support. Trying to repeal them one by one is no use; the only people who would be excited would be the lobbyists for the special interests involved.

Even if the Government does everything it can to contain inflation within the U.S., though, there will still be that danger of imported inflation from abroad. American prices for many key raw materials —oil, wheat, lead, sugar—are heavily influenced, if not dictated, by the world supply-demand balance. All have zoomed in the past year or so because of global shortages, real or engineered. Restraining demand in the U.S. may not be enough to keep prices down—especially if other industrialized countries stimulate their economies to make up for a loss of export sales to the U.S. and commodity-producing nations form more price-raising cartels modeled after the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

To counter that threat, the U.S. must take the lead in organizing international cooperation against inflation. As a start, it should try to win at least an informal agreement among the leading financial powers to synchronize their monetary and fiscal policies. The goal should be world restraint to combat world inflation. Further, the U.S. should attempt to reduce the frenzy of international bidding for scarce commodities by forming a world organization that would improve forecasting of global supply and demand. And the State Department should push harder to form an organization of petroleum-importing countries that could bargain with Arab leaders for lower prices.

This program contains something to offend almost everyone: liberals and conservatives; businessmen, workers and farmers; and several departments of the Government itself. Whether President Nixon, facing impeachment, can put such a program across, is all too obviously doubtful. The more important question might be whether any U.S. Administration could summon the courage to launch this kind of all-out attack on inflation. It would succeed only if the public could be persuaded that all parts of society—the businessman jawboned out of price increases, the worker asked to settle for a modest wage increase, the banker told not to make certain loans —were being asked to make equitable sacrifices. The only answer is that the risks of not doing so are even greater. For the Nixon, Ford or any other Administration that might be in power—and for the nation as a whole—there is no deadlier danger than continued raging inflation. ■ George J. Church

ROBINSON & ARMSTRONG

BARBARA HENDRICKS

ROULEAU & CHORNODOLSKA IN *SERAGLIO*

Opera's Summer Rites

Opera, says Mr. Scruples in Mozart's The Impresario, *"occasionally loses skirmishes, but it invariably wins the battle for survival." On the theory that some of the most interesting battles are taking place in that realm known as regional opera,* TIME's *music critic William Bender visited St. Paul, Katonah, N.Y., and Ottawa. He encountered imaginative programming, talented young singers, skilled managerial talent and audiences as eager for the untried as the familiar. His report:*

ST. PAUL OPERA is an adventurous, four-year-old summer festival with an extensive following not only in Minnesota but also in bordering Wisconsin and Iowa. It has given the world première of Lee Hoiby's *Summer and Smoke,* the American première of Carl Nielsen's *Maskarade,* and staged such other esoterica as Delius' *A Village Romeo and Juliet* and Carlisle Floyd's *Of Mice and Men.*

The current St. Paul season ranges from a *Carmen* in French to a *Siegfried* in English. Last week the company offered the American première of *Engagement in San Domingo* by Germany's Werner Egk, 73, whose music tends to be grandiose and wildly varied. *Engagement* is a kind of Caribbean *Aida* set in what is now Haiti during the black natives' overthrow of the French colonists at the turn of the 19th century. The heroine is the mulatto Jeanne, who falls in love with the French officer Christoph, though her revolutionist mother Bobokan is plotting his death. At the end, Jeanne is killed by Christoph, who mistakes her attempt to help him for treachery.

The story is a natural for opera, set by the composer in a style that can only be called Egk-clectic. The blues, dashes of Strauss and Puccini, an occasional roll of voodoo drums—all these are woven into a skillful pastiche. If hardly innovative, it is easy to listen to and, at key moments, appropriately bravura. Never mind such questions as why Egk chose the blues to evoke a Caribbean mood, instead of a music more indigenous to the West Indies. Music Director Igor Buketoff led a crisp, idiomatic performance that drew the most from Egk's acrobatic orchestral score and made the blues passages seem natural, less like interludes. As Jeanne, Newcomer Barbara Hendricks from Little Rock, Ark., displayed a ravishing lyric soprano voice. Karl Brock not only handled the rigorous tenor lead role of Christoph with a convincing mixture of despair and bravado but also produced a splendid English translation of Egk's German libretto.

In addition to the fine performances, one of St. Paul Opera's biggest contributions to regional opera is the launching of a program to share production costs (sets and costumes) with four other companies—the Seattle, San Diego, Houston and Washington, D.C. Each season, the Gramma Fisher Foundation* in Marshalltown, Iowa, contributes $100,000 for a new operatic production that is mounted by one of the companies, then made available in succeeding years to the others. St. Paul, for example, currently has a very stylish *Manon* that was introduced earlier this year in Houston. The plan is a sensible, sane method of cutting the staggering costs of opera today, and it is fortunately catching on elsewhere.

*Named for the opera-loving mother of J. William Fisher, a sometime composer and retired board chairman of Fisher Controls Co., Inc.

CARAMOOR, devoted only partly to opera, is located 40 miles from Manhattan in exurban Katonah and thus barely qualifies as regional. But its locale, an Italian villa surrounded by 180 wooded acres, makes the summerlong festival a remote, ethereal world apart. Opera performances are held in a 1,500-seat outdoor Venetian theater. The stage is built around three dozen 9th century Greek and Roman columns smuggled out of Italy decades ago and subsequently bought by the late Walter and Lucie Rosen, who owned Caramoor.

In this exquisite setting, the company's excellent veteran musical director Julius Rudel last week introduced an offbeat operatic double bill consisting of Antonio Salieri's *Prima la Musica e Poi le Parole* (First the Music and Then the Words) and Mozart's *The Impresario.* Since both works deal with backstage intrigue, and both had their premières together in 1786 on commission from Austria's enlightened Emperor Joseph II, the two one-acters would seem made for each other.

There is a legend, fostered notably by a Pushkin poem and later by Rimski-Korsakov in an opera *(Mozart and Salieri),* that Salieri poisoned Mozart. Scholars discount the thesis, but there is no doubt that Salieri hindered the career of his younger colleague. Small wonder. Salieri was a hack who saw Mozart as a threat to his own reputation. Is such historical byplay justification enough for combining the two works at this late date? Alas, no. *Prima la Musica* has about 15 minutes of passable music; at a length of 70 minutes, it is maddeningly vapid.

But as the lights went down after intermission, the mercurial opening bars of *Impresario's* overture transformed the evening. By the standard of the com-

poser's later works, *Impresario* is a trifle. Its characters are types—Mr. Angel, the elderly financier, Mme. Goldentrill, the aging diva. Yet how boldly the types are cast, and how fresh the music. It was a good show, even though Director Frank Corsaro placed the action in the Edwardian era in a wasted effort to provide contrast with the Salieri. Sopranos Karan Armstrong (Goldentrill) and Ruth Welting (Miss Silverpeal) filled the theater with fine singing and fetching looks.

For opera buffs, the evening's most notable portrayal was Scruples (the impresario) played by Francis Robinson, 64, the perennial opera raconteur, radio personality and assistant manager of the Metropolitan Opera. Though Scruples is a nonsinging role, he does have most of the punch lines ("Opera? A ridiculous Italian disease that won't last!"). Robinson was splendidly languid and elegant in depicting a man grown bored with opera and its intrigues.

NATIONAL ARTS CENTRE, in its fifth year at Ottawa, is a working, growing symbol of Canada's cultural life. Its main hall has but 2,100 seats and, like the European auditoriums that served as its model, it is an intimate and easeful place to hear opera. Its backstage plant is the best in Canada—almost as big as the Metropolitan Opera's. Best of all, there is Conductor Mario Bernardi, who since 1971 has presided over one of the first-rank summer opera festivals on the continent. He began the current season with a new production of Mozart's *The Abduction from the Seraglio.*

Seraglio predates *The Impresario* by four years and is written in the style of the *Singspiel* (literally, song-play), the popular 18th century German comic opera. These days it needs a clever stage style—or more expert clowning—to make a convincing evening. This, alas, the opera failed to get from Director Anthony Besch, who unaccountably kept the action stiff and stately.

Fortunately, the music of *Seraglio* is one glorious moment after another, and here there was no disappointment. Conductor Bernardi has a discreet, controlled way with Mozart that was especially beneficial to some of his younger singers—notably Dutch-born Sonja Poot as Constanze and Montreal's Anna Chornodolska as the maid Blonde. Bass Joseph Rouleau, a regular at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, was lecher-perfect as the Pasha's harem keeper, Osmin. The star of the evening, though, was the five-year-old National Arts Centre Orchestra, a chamber-sized ensemble of 46 that Bernardi conducts in concert during the winter. It plays Mozart with a darker hue than usual, yet is clean and energetic. Canada does not have another orchestra like it, and the ensemble is certainly a match for its smaller U.S. counterparts —notably the Los Angeles and St. Paul chamber orchestras.

La Condition Féminine

Long before there was a *Mouvement de Libération des Femmes* in France, Journalist Françoise Giroud, editor of the left-leaning weekly, *L'Express,* had been championing—as well as living —the life-style of an emancipated woman. A divorcee, Giroud, 57, has repeatedly spoken out for women's rights. Now she will have a chance to do a good deal more. Last week President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing appointed her to a new Cabinet post as State Secretary for *la Condition Féminine.* The decree creating her office defined the job as "overseeing the integration of women into contemporary French society."

AP

NEW STATE SECRETARY FRANÇOISE GIROUD
Eat your heart out, Betty Friedan.

The post is unprecedented. As Columnist Harriet Van Horne wrote about the appointment: "Betty Friedan can eat her heart out, but one can't see either Richard Nixon or Gerald Ford setting up a department dealing with the feminine condition." In fact, Giscard at first tried to downgrade the Cabinet post to the head of a women's affairs bureau, but yielded when Giroud refused to accept such a position.

Skeptical French newspapers asked how Giroud, who supported Giscard's opponent, Socialist Party Leader François Mitterrand, could be more than a "liberal window dressing of a conservative policy." *Le Monde,* however, approvingly noted that "if anyone knows the uncertainties of the position of French women, and struggled to overcome them, it is Françoise Giroud."

At 16, Giroud became a film script girl, at 21 France's first female assistant director. During the Occupation she was active in the Resistance and after the war helped to found the popular women's weekly *Elle* and later *L'Express,* for which she will continue to write. Slim and chic, Giroud often wears slacks to the office, buys clothes from St. Laurent. She lives alone in a modern French skyscraper near Montparnasse and frequently sees her grandsons and her daughter, Caroline, a doctor.

Giroud's mission is monumental if taken literally. Despite recent gains, the prevailing attitude toward women in France is aptly expressed by last year's popular song, *Hands in the Flour:* "I love my wife in the living room, I love my wife in the bedroom, but I love her best in the kitchen, with her hands in the flour." Idealized as wives and mothers, French women were almost the last in Europe to leave the home and go to work. Though 40% of the labor force is now made up of women, their total income is only one-quarter that of French men. Most still work in traditionally female occupations like teaching and nursing or in unskilled factory, office and shopkeeping positions.

Day Care. Giroud hopes to upgrade the status of women by encouraging professional schools to open their doors to them. She has suggested appointing delegates to travel around the country and inspect the way women are treated on the job. Though equal pay is mandated under a 1972 law, many employers classify jobs in such a way that they pay a woman less than a man for doing essentially the same work.

Giroud wants to make it easier for women to enter the work force. Businesses, she told TIME, should set up flexible hours (including part-time schedules) so that women can better tend to their families. The government should also put a higher priority on day-care centers and kindergartens. (Currently, there is room in French day-care centers for only one child out of every 1,000, compared with one out of every eight in Sweden.) Says Giroud: "It is absolutely essential that they be considered as a service to the nation and not merely as a service to women."

As she has done in her columns, Giroud will continue to press for liberalization of the abortion laws. Of all the tasks facing Giroud, one of the most important, she believes, is to "change the mentality of the people. There's a very old fear among men that if women are really equal, they'll take men's jobs away from them." Moreover, she points out that mothers still urge their daughters to study sewing and cooking instead of a profession because it will be "useful when they're married." What really counts, she says, is to be able to point with pride not to "ten bright, visible women but to the average level of women in a country. If I accomplish what I set out to," she said last week, "there won't be any need for my ministry."

THE OCEANS

Wild West Scramble for Control

Think of it: through the alchemy of imagination, the oceans disappear. Suddenly, the world would gain some 140 million sq. mi. of land, including mountains higher than Everest, volcanoes more powerful than Etna, chasms deeper than the Grand Canyon. By far the most pleasant scenery to man's eye—assuming anyone could survive in a world without water—would be the delicately terraced hills and snug valleys on the gently sloping continental shelves. The rest of the ocean floor would be mostly a vast wasteland of muddy ooze, as bleak in its way as the Sahara.

For the first time in history, man is looking at the oceans that cover two-thirds of the planet's surface in almost this way—as real estate. It is a momentous change, the start of a third great era in man's long relationship with the sustaining seas.

At first they were merely a source of fear, fascination and fish. Then, when the Phoenicians ranged over the Mediterranean in their graceful gôlahs about 3,300 years ago, the oceans also became a highway over which to carry national power and culture as well as trade. The story of civilization, in fact, is largely the story of bold seafaring peoples that quested for ever-farther shores. Athenians, Romans, Polynesians, Chinese, Iberians, French, English—all saw the ocean as a wilderness and a challenge. Now the sea frontier seems tamed. The age of exploitation has begun.

Today's technology has unlocked the sea depths, opening a new store of treasures. Oilmen can locate oil, drill and cap wells under the enormous pressures of 700 ft. of water. Mining companies know how to sweep minerals off the cold, abyssal plains 20,000 ft. down. Fishermen in modern, mechanized trawlers can easily draw bottom fish off the ocean floor with a kind of vacuum cleaner or haul in whole finny schools in a single huge seine net. Industrialized nations, like runners poised in their starting blocks, are awaiting only one thing before the race for the sea resources begins in earnest. They have to know who has legal title to all that wealth.

The answer is being hammered out in, of all places, the mountain city of Caracas, site of the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Actually, the high and dry location makes a good deal of symbolic sense. The 5,000 delegates and official observers at the conference come from 149 nations—29 of them landlocked states without so much as a salt-water swimming hole. Virtually every government on earth is represented at Caracas. The only country the U.N. did not invite was Taiwan (so that China would agree to come), and the only one that refused to participate was North Viet Nam (which was peeved because the Viet Cong were not asked to attend). The stated purpose of the Caracas meeting seems unremarkable enough: to update ocean law to accommodate advancing technology. But what has really drawn delegates from all over the world to Caracas is the biggest land (or water) grab in history.

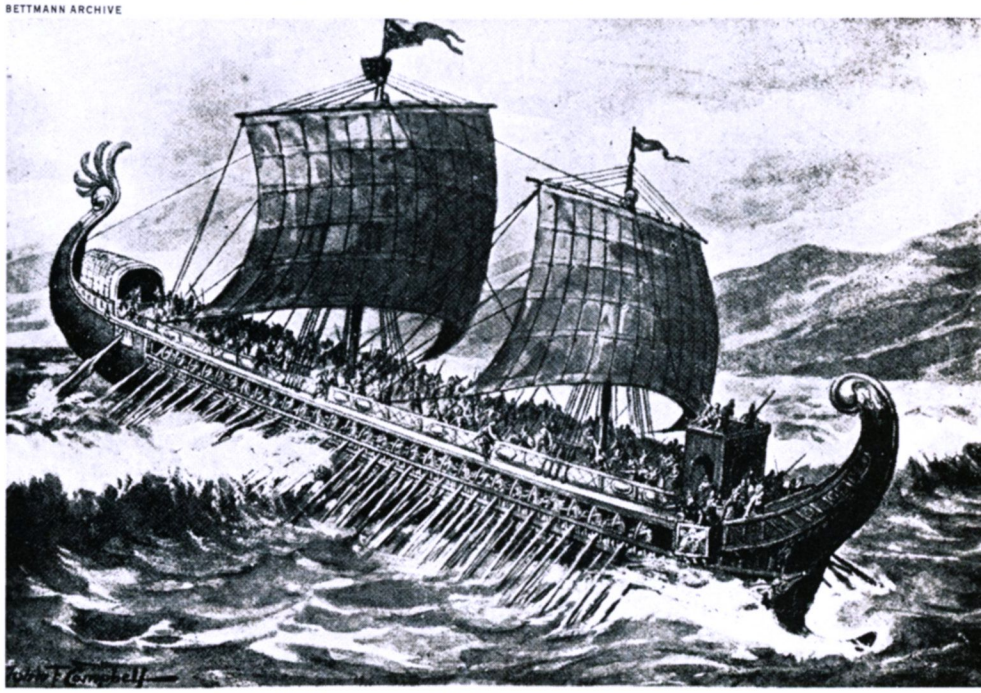
"We're in a period like the opening of the American West," says Marine Biologist John Teal at the Woods Hole (Mass.) Oceanographic Institution. "Everybody is trampling over everybody else to stake a claim in the oceans." That signals an end to a view that has prevailed for 350 years: the fundamental freedom of the seas. It was first stitched into international law by Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist who wrote in 1609 that the ocean "is common to all, because it is so limitless that it cannot become the possession of anyone." The seas, he concluded, "can be neither seized nor enclosed."

The Caracas conference will lay Grotius to rest without ceremony. In a global game of give-and-take, each delegation has the same goal: to give as little and seize and enclose as much as possible. The scene in Caracas is one of almost Byzantine intrigue. Africans in flowing robes, Chinese in crisp gray tunics, Indians in Nehru jackets, Western diplomats in stern gray suits—all huddle in the maze of meeting rooms, trying to align dreams, schemes and means. The major issues include:

- How far offshore each coastal nation can extend its absolute sovereignty.
- How far beyond that coastal nations can have exclusive economic jurisdiction—*i.e.*, first rights on living and mineral resources.
- Who owns the resources even farther out, in the high seas.
- Whether an international organization should be created to settle ocean disputes and parcel out dividends from development of the sea's resources.

The conference generally breaks down into two wary camps. On the one side there are the 120 developing countries, ranging in size from China (pop. 800 million) to the South Pacific island state of Nauru (pop. 6,500). They see Caracas as a grand divvying up of the

BETTMANN ARCHIVE



TRIREME USED BY GREEKS & ROMANS ON MEDITERRANEAN
A completely new perception of the seas.

oceans' wealth: a "unique opportunity," as C.R. Pinto of Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) puts it, "to augment their meager national resources with none of the unpleasant connotations of 'economic aid.' " They argue that the law Grotius wrote in a maritime era gives an unfair advantage to developed nations in a technological era. Continuation of the status quo, Delegate Makhold Lerotholi of Lesotho protested in Caracas last week, would "mean continuation of a colonial mentality of the most cynical nature." If the developed nations were allowed to exploit the seas at will, he said, they would go on to lay claim to the moon, the stars and the planets.

Lined up on the other side of this emotionally charged debate are a group of 29 modern industrial nations, led (loosely) by the U.S. and the Soviet Union and including the European countries plus Canada, Australia and Japan. French Diplomat Michel Lennuyeaux-Comnène makes no secret of the fact that his country "is hostile to a vote of the majority of developing nations dictating maritime law to the minority of countries technologically capable of exploiting the seas." Other rich-country officials agree, though few care to state their feelings so bluntly. But no one denies that the large maritime nations, which still rule the seas, hold effective veto power on any decisions involving the sea. Without the full agreement of the U.S., Russia, Britain and Japan, one American delegate concedes, a new law of the sea "won't be worth the paper it is written on."

Given such fundamental imbalances in national power and purpose, the wonder is that the sea conference is being held at all. But the major powers know that the days when they could partition territory among themselves (as they did last century in Africa) are gone; they are too entangled in a web of economic and political agreements for that, and too dependent on developing nations for raw materials. Indeed, says Richard N. Gardner, a Columbia Law School professor and adviser to the State Department, "1974 represents a turning point in international relations. The global agenda is now more important than traditional foreign policies. If the law-of-the-sea conference fails, it will harm prospects for other international negotiations on food, population, energy, security, trade. Caracas is a test case for mankind's capacity to deal with global problems in a rational way." Says John R. Stevenson, chief of the U.S. delegation: "We all feel a sense of urgency."

The U.S. and other wealthy nations worry that if progress is not made at Caracas, no new law will come out of a follow-up meeting scheduled for Vienna next year. Without some sort of law, most nations will form bilateral agreements on ocean use, creating a jumble of jurisdictions that could make rational development of ocean resources almost impossible. Or they will make unilateral decisions that could lead to war.

Recent discoveries of offshore oil reserves have already set China against South Viet Nam in the South China Sea, Russia against Japan in the Sea of Okhotsk, and Greece against Turkey in the Aegean (though oil is certainly not the issue in Cyprus). Meanwhile, in all the world's major fisheries, fishermen of various nationalities are wrangling acrimoniously over catches of cod, tuna, salmon, herring, whales. Such quarrels in the past have triggered bitter diplomatic disputes, as in last year's "cod war" between Britain and Iceland and in the earlier "tuna wars" between the U.S. and Peru.

Even oceanographers have been running into unaccustomed political storms. Marine scientists have discovered that the more they reveal about the secrets—and hidden wealth—of the seas, the more they find access to their vast oceanic laboratory being barred by chary governments. Jealously guarding what they believe to be their private offshore Klondikes, more and more coastal nations have been applying the same restrictions on oceanographic studies as they have on offshore fishing. The Brazilians, for example, allow no unauthorized exploration within their 200-mile limit; they do not want outsiders charging around making discoveries that may bring multinational oil or mining firms following in their wake. For similar reasons of pride and pocketbook, India, Pakistan, Sudan, Yemen, Kenya and Tanzania have all been discouraging further research expeditions by U.S. and other outside scientists in the Indian Ocean. Back in the 1960s, American research vessels were refused access to foreign waters only once or twice a year; 30 such refusals were reported in 1970-71, and the KEEP OUT signs have been proliferating ever since. American oceanographers worry that such measures might end virtually all investigations of the continental shelves, the sloping offshore plateaus that are especially rich in minerals and marine life.

The attempt to resolve these problems with a comprehensive new sea law is ambitious, to say the least. Says U.S. Delegate Leigh Ratiner, "We're really writing a constitution." The Caracas delegates cannot just draw lines on the map the way Pope Alexander VI did when he split world navigation rights between Spain and Portugal in 1493. Rather, they have a three-dimensional task: they must apportion resources (fish, minerals), rights (transit, overflight) and responsibilities (environmental protection, resource conservation) among a host of competing interests. "If you know a good tranquilizer salesman, send him on down," cracks a delegate. "He'll get rich."

Staking Out the Oceans

The U.S. made the first radical change in the principle of open seas. President Harry S. Truman, worried by World War II's drain on domestic petroleum reserves, declared in 1945 that the nation owned the resources on and under its continental shelf, which extends as much as 700 miles out to sea (off Alaska). He did not claim either the fish in the water or any rights over ship transit. But a few other nations, starting with Chile in 1947, drew no such distinctions and declared that they owned the waters extending for various distances from their coasts. Today, while many countries still abide by the archaic three-mile limit, most do not. Russia, for instance, claims twelve miles; Iceland, 50 miles; South Africa, 100 miles; and others, mainly in Latin America, 200 miles.*

The U.N. tried to deal with this chaos with law-of-the-sea conferences in 1958 and 1960. The net result was even more confusion. The continental shelf was defined, for instance, as the area between the coast and the point where the sea was 650 ft. deep, "or beyond that limit to where the depth of the superadjacent waters admits of exploitation of the natural resources." In other words, a country could keep on claiming offshore waters all the way to the other side of the ocean, if it had the necessary technology.

For a while only the U.S. and the Soviet Union had much interest in the deep seabeds, and only because the ocean floor was an ideal place to hide the electronic paraphernalia of war—special devices, for example, to track each other's submarines. But the 1960s brought a greater awareness of the widening differences between the have and have-not nations and, consequently, a new concern about resources. In 1967 Arvid Pardo, then Malta's Ambassador to the U.N., noted in a rousing speech in the General Assembly that the deep seabeds were littered with minerals, notably commercially valuable manganese nodules. Arguing that the resources were the "common heritage of mankind," he proposed that the profits from mining seabed minerals should be shared among all nations according to need. Pardo's plan was instantly endorsed by the small states that dominate the U.N.'s General Assembly, and in 1968 they passed a resolution calling for the current conference.

Jacques Yves Cousteau, the famed French underwater pioneer, is aghast at the result. "I'd do anything to torpedo that conference," he says. "Caracas offered a unique opportunity, an opportunity to use the seas as a link between all nations in the interests of peace." Instead, he finds, "the conference is returning to the Middle Ages, to policies of egotistical nationalism, with every country yanking at the bedclothes and the hell with the others. It's tragic."

But it could scarcely be otherwise, given the political and economic realities. Indeed, the seabed makes strange politics; within the general framework of rich *v.* poor nations at Caracas, new and complicated alliances have appeared. Who would believe a bloc including Switzerland, Bolivia, Afghanistan and Singapore, for example? Yet they have found common cause because they are either landlocked or have extremely narrow continental shelves, and they want a share of the resources of the seas. Nations with broad shelves —among them India, Argentina and Canada—are united in pressing for as big a territorial sea as possible. Archipelagic states like Indonesia and Mauritius want to control not only all the water around their component islands, but also the passage of vessels through straits. The overriding concern of the major maritime powers, which include Norway and Liberia along with the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and Japan, is unrestricted freedom of navigation anywhere in the world, including straits.

No nation has more to lose or gain at Caracas than the U.S. It has the world's longest coastline (counting the Aleutian, Hawaiian and Micronesian archipelagoes), the mightiest Navy, the most extensive investment in offshore oil and mining. The rather liberal U.S. oceans policy was the product of a long, twisting tug of war between a number of personalities and interests:

▶ The Pentagon was quick to see a military threat in the developing countries' persistent claims to jurisdiction over 200 miles of coastal seas. If those claims succeeded, some 115 international straits—including Gibraltar, Dover, Malacca, the entrances to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf—would be controlled by individual countries. That, in turn, would probably end the tradition of unimpeded transit of naval ships. What especially bothered the military planners was the thought of missile-packing nuclear submarines having to surface in straits; their effectiveness as deterrents depends on secrecy. So the Defense Department insisted in 1968 that the first new laws of the sea be 1) guaranteed freedom of navigation and 2) the narrowest possible territorial seas.

▶ The oil industry objected almost immediately. Having found rich deposits of oil and natural gas way beyond the three- or even twelve-mile limit, oilmen wanted the new laws to extend national ocean rights out to the edge of the continental shelf. Energy needs, they argued through the Interior Department, should take precedence over defense considerations.

▶ The State Department came up with a compromise in 1970. Then Under Secretary of State Elliot Richardson proposed that all coastal nations be allowed to extend control of offshore waters to a depth of 650 ft. Seaward from that point, they might develop undersea oil or ore reserves, but only as "trustees" for a so-called seabed authority representing the international community, which would reap up to 50% of the profits from deep-sea exploitation.

▶ The White House, at Henry Kissinger's urging, endorsed the Richardson plan in mid-1970. "Industry just went bananas," said an Interior official. Neither oil nor mining companies wanted to become entangled in the international seabed authority, much less give away a big share of their profits. The companies got unexpected assistance when several developing countries suggested that the Richardson proposal somehow disguised U.S. "colonialism."

▶ The fishing industry soon realized that it had better do some lobbying too. Far-ranging tuna fishermen wanted narrow territorial limits so that they could fish close to foreign shores; coastal fishermen urged the opposite—wide national zones to exclude foreign competitors.

▶ The Treasury Department took no interest in the law of the sea until it sent an observer to a U.N. meeting on seabeds in 1973. He reported back, in essence: "You won't believe what's going on. They want to give control over seabed mining to an international monopoly." Treasury Secretary George Shultz and Under Secretary William E. Simon, both fervent believers in free-market competition, were appalled.

BLACK STAR

TRAWLER IN NORTH ATLANTIC
Control of coastal species.

*The three-mile limit, based on the range of a land cannon, emerged in the 18th century. In World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt mandated a 200-mile "neutrality zone" to safeguard the western flank of Latin America, and that seems to have inspired many of the 200-mile claims being made today. These and other claims generally reflect defense considerations or the extent of important coastal fisheries.

They ordered an economic review of U.S. policy. Recalls a Treasury official: "We broke rice bowls all over the place." In the U.S. proposal the seabed authority was broken down to a body that merely licensed deep-sea mining.

Washington's final policy, announced earlier this month at Caracas, neatly satisfies all the domestic dilemmas. The U.S. urges that coastal nations be given 1) a twelve-mile territorial sea, and 2) a 200-mile-wide "economic zone" for exploitation of minerals and fish—all contingent upon free transit of ships through all straits. Nations bordering on the sea would control fish species classified as coastal (cod, haddock) and anadromous (salmon and other varieties that breed in fresh water and spend most of their adult lives in the open seas); they would have first rights to harvest these species and would be allowed to license foreigners to take the rest. Management of wide-ranging oceanic species such as tuna, swordfish and whales would be left to existing (and not always effective) international fishing commissions.

That leaves the really troublesome issue: undersea resources. In the case of oil and natural gas, the problem would be settled relatively simply by the 200-mile economic zone. Virtually all of the accessible oil and gas reserves lie within this zone, leaving coastal states in control of their own offshore deposits. But how to deal with deep-sea minerals?

Some metal-exporting countries —mainly Zaïre, Chile and Zambia —want the world to forget about ocean mining altogether. Most other developing nations, however, want the proposed seabed authority to develop the deposits of manganese nodules, and then return 100% of the profits to them. The Soviets have already responded to that idea: "Unacceptable, inequitable and disadvantageous." All the industrial powers, including the U.S., object to the idea that they should make the investments, provide the technology and take the risks for the benefit of the poor countries. Their counterproposal: the international authority should set rules for deep-sea mining, license qualified miners, and collect perhaps 5% of the revenues for the needier nations.

One big issue that the Caracas delegates have chosen mainly to sidestep is pollution. The conference should settle a basic jurisdictional point: whether a coastal nation with strong laws to protect its marine environment—most notably Canada—has a right to bar polluting vessels from its waters. But oil tankers and other ships account for only 10% of the ocean's contaminants. The other 90% of the pollutants come from the land, and that, the conferees decided, is out of their territory.

What will the great sea-law debate finally produce—if not in Caracas, then in Vienna next year? One observer, Ann L. Hollick, executive director of Johns Hopkins University's ocean-policy project, sees three unpromising possibilities. One is a bland treaty that will merely perpetuate the status quo. Then again, the new law could be too specific for most nations to ratify. Finally, it could end up riddled with vitiating amendments, becoming in effect a collection of multilateral treaties. On the other hand, U.S. Delegate John Norton Moore predicts a worthwhile agreement; most nations understand, he says, "the importance of a treaty to all mankind."

Both may be proven in their ways. The technological advances that are opening up the sea frontier have caused a legal and political nightmare. But they are also spurring revisions of the gloomier forecasts of the Club of Rome and the other doomsayers about the ability of man to continue to find fuel to burn, food to eat and materials to build with —in peace.

The delegates at Caracas are not fighting over the last loaves. They are trying to set fair ground rules for the sharing of new resources whose abundance is only beginning to be measured. It is this that is forcing a more realistic if not necessarily appealing approach to the oceans. Man is turning to the sea with a surveyor's eye. For the first time, he is compelled to consider the implications of the fact that if all the oceans' volume were divided equally among all the people on earth today, each person would own a watery cube measuring 300 ft. on each side to serve as a storehouse of food, a repository for his wastes, a reserve of resources, a source of recreation and inspiration. To Grotius, it was the sea that "rather possesses the earth than is by it possessed." Not any more.

Squeezing More Out of the Seas

As oceanographers view it, there is something unreal about the debate over who owns what in and under the sea. Says Manik Talwani, director of Columbia University's famed Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory: "Mankind knows more about some aspects of the moon than it does about some of the land right off its coasts."

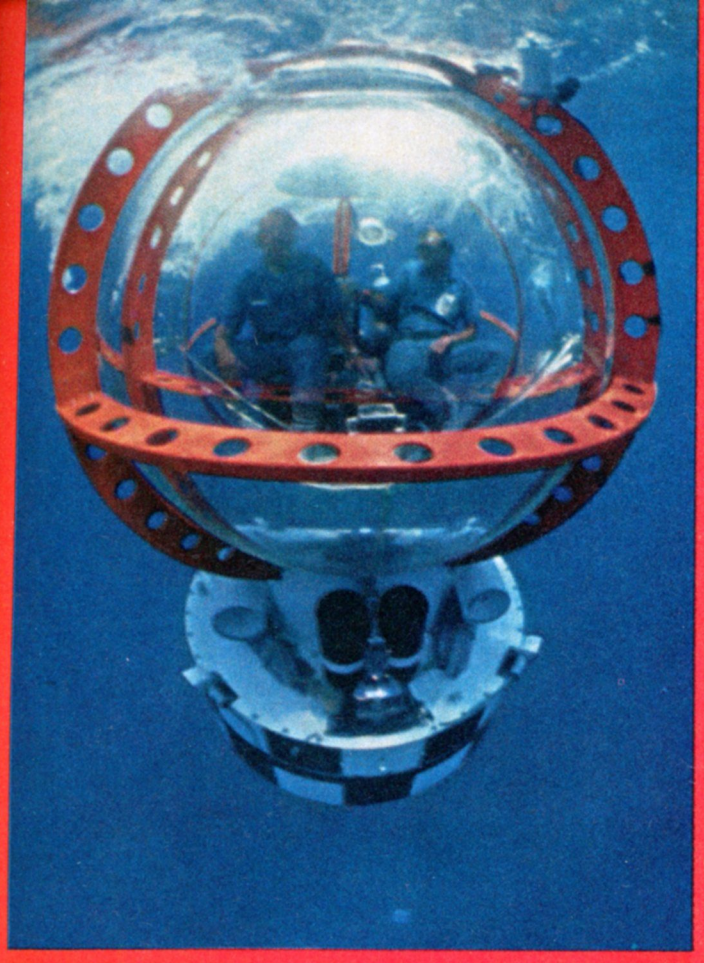
Fortunately, marine scientists from many countries are busy sampling, probing and testing the seas and the seabed in many areas, using some dazzling gadgets *(see color pages)*. Off the Azores, French and American scientists are diving to depths of almost two miles in three tiny submersibles, including the U.S. Navy's little *Alvin*, for a closeup look at the jagged, volcanically active mid-Atlantic ridge. Farther south, 38 ships and 13 planes from ten different countries have assembled for a massive United Nations–sponsored study of how the sun-drenched tropical seas and atmosphere affect worldwide weather.

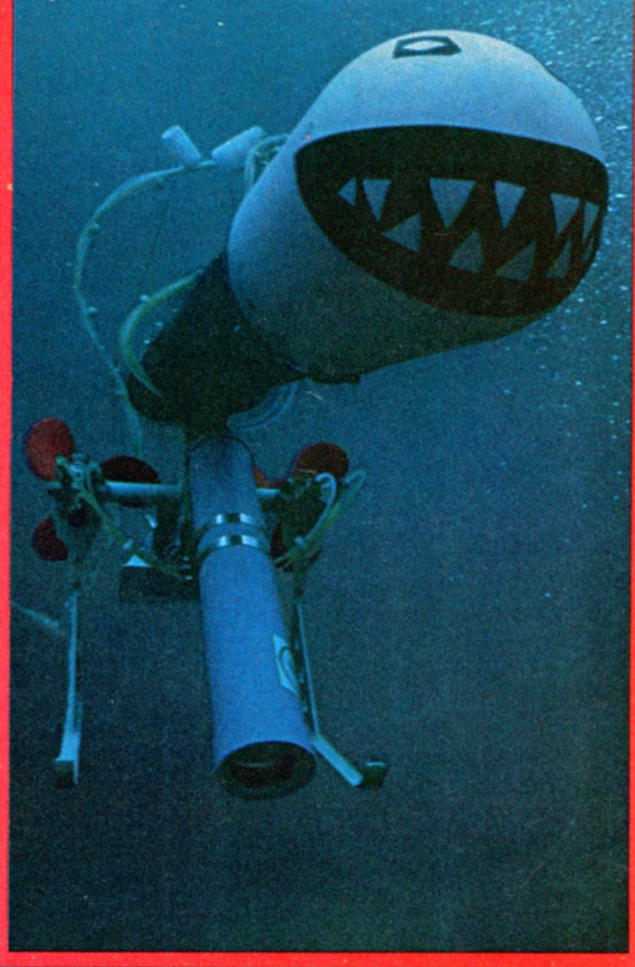
Working in a joint program called NORPAX (for North Pacific Experiment), Russian and American scientists are making new discoveries about ocean currents. Among their findings: the periodic invasion of a warm southerly water flow off South America called El Niño, which recently had all but wiped out Peru's valuable anchovy harvest, is apparently linked to the great north equatorial countercurrent that sweeps from the Philippines to Central America. British and American scientists have been taking part in a similar study in the Atlantic, concentrating on the mysteries of undersea eddies, or storms. Meanwhile, oceanographers aboard the U.S. deep-drilling ship *Glomar Challenger*, which has been poking into the sea bottom for the past five years, have come up with hard evidence for a revolutionary new theory called "global tectonics." It holds that the continents are drifting ever so slowly (at a rate of inches a year) on top of half a dozen or so giant, ever shifting plates that form the earth's outer surface—a concept that could help in predicting earthquakes.

Such discoveries are no mere intellectual curiosities. They are not only shedding light on the hidden processes at work in the earth, but are also establishing the wealth of the oceans and their new role as an international political battleground. Major areas of research and exploration:

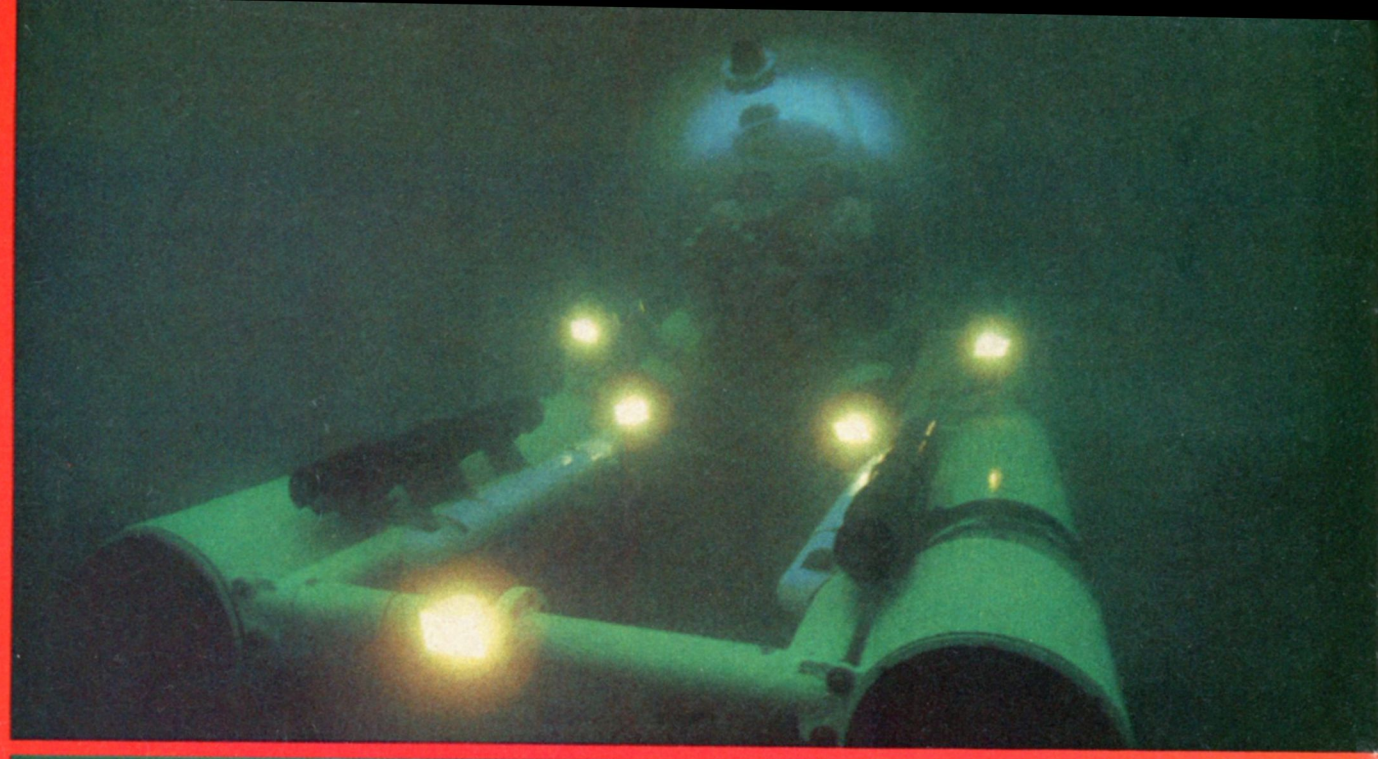
MINING: HOT POTATOES

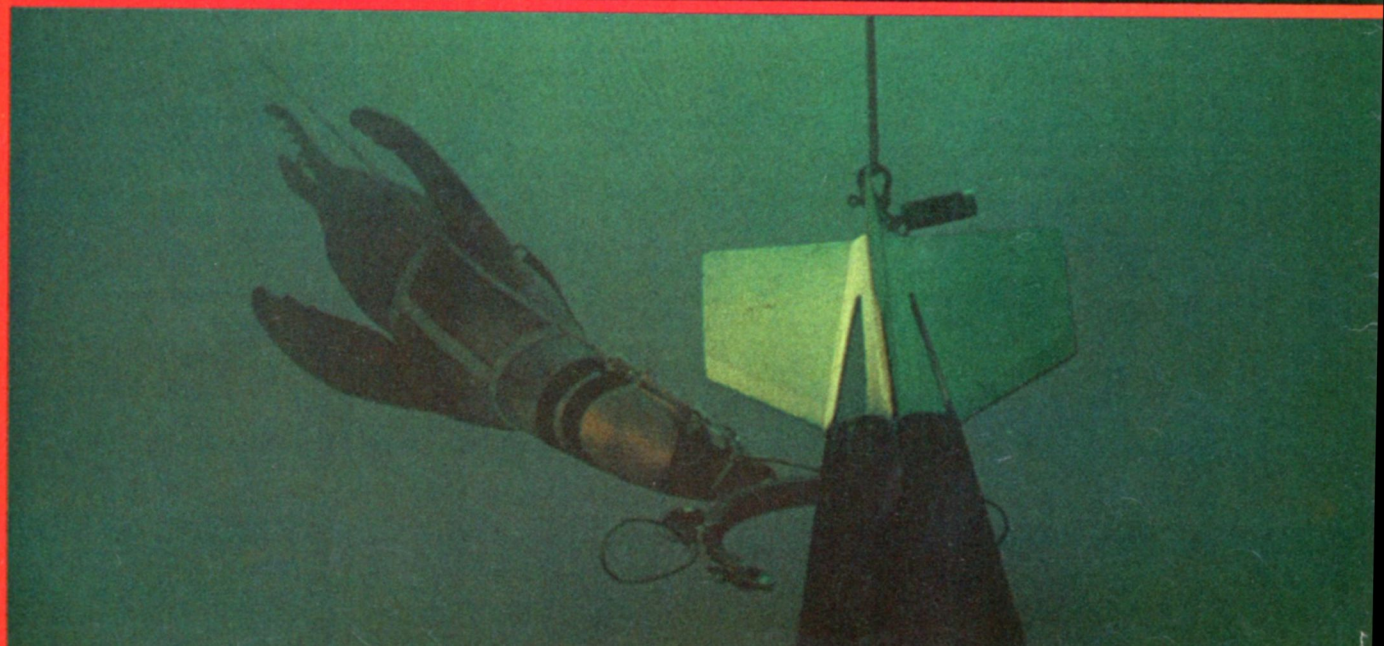
Deep-sea miners are hauling up tin off the shores of Indonesia and Thailand, diamonds off South Africa and sulfur from the Gulf of Mexico. Mining combines also hope to take the plunge into hot (up to 140° F.), muddy waters at the bottom of the Red Sea, believed to contain some $3.4 billion worth of copper, lead, zinc, silver and gold. But the hottest new item in undersea mining is manganese nodules—strange, dark chunks resembling badly charred potatoes that literally litter the ocean floor. The nodules contain significant amounts of manganese, essential for making steel, as well as other valuable metals, including copper, nickel and cobalt. One theory of their origin: dissolved in rain water, these minerals are carried off the continents by streams and rivers until they reach the seas. Eventually the particles settle to the bottom, where they tend to collect on such solid objects as rocks, sharks' teeth and even





Top left: Even the hero of Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea *might have enjoyed the view from the acrylic plastic cockpit of the submersible* NEMO *(for Naval Experimental Manned Observatory). Top right: Playfully disguised, the Navy's* Snoopy *is really a self-propelled, remote-controlled undersea TV camera. Bottom: Topped with hoists, Howard Hughes' Glomar Explorer can whisk up valuable manganese nodules from ocean bottom like a vacuum cleaner.*





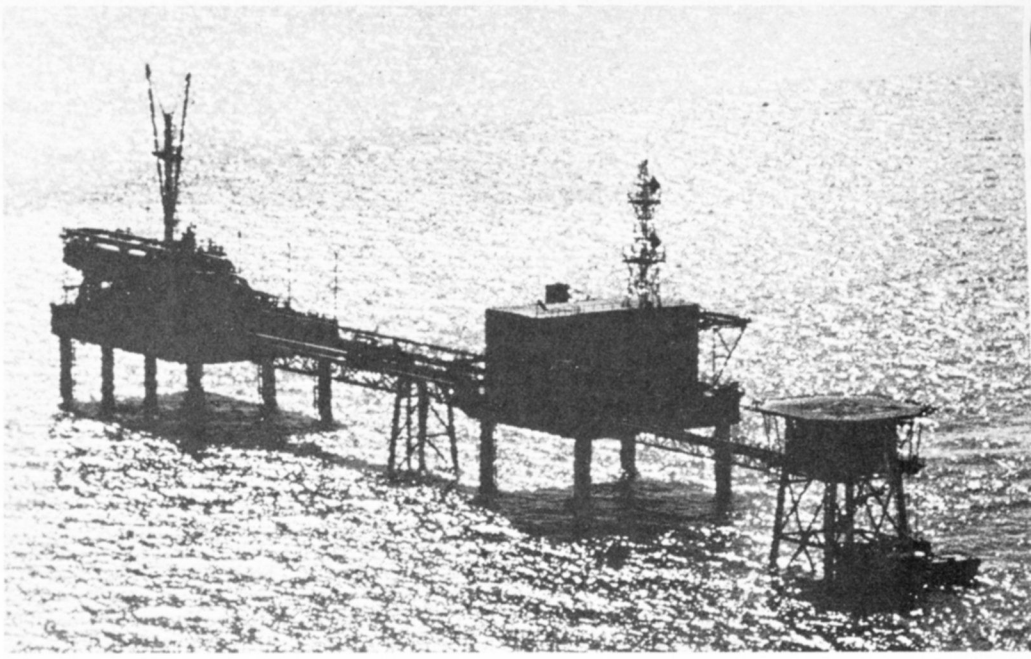
old naval shell casings. The floor of the Pacific alone is estimated to be carpeted with about 1.5 trillion tons of nodules (today worth up to $200 a ton). One particularly rich belt runs east-west just south of Hawaii. Unlike oil and gas, the nodules form quite rapidly—at a rate estimated at 6 million to 10 million tons a year in the Pacific belt alone. John Mero, a deep-sea mining consultant in La Jolla, Calif., predicts that some nodule-mining operations will be in full-scale production by 1980 and that it will eventually be possible to begin shutting down some of the existing nickel and copper mines on land. "There is enough down there to keep us all stuffed for 200 or 300 years."

About 100 companies and half a dozen governments are now actively working on nodule-mining technology. Billionaire Howard Hughes seems to be ahead of the pack. With characteristic Hughes secrecy, his Summa Corp. is testing a specially built, 36,000-ton, $100 million deep-ocean mining ship, *Glomar Explorer,* off Hawaii. The ship stations itself over a potential site, then lowers its TV-equipped mining apparatus, along with connecting pipe, through a large well in the hull. Once the mining gear hits bottom some two or three miles down, it slurps up nodules from the ocean floor like a huge vacuum cleaner.

Neither Hughes nor his competitors are talking about the scale of their investment. But experts reckon that a venture like his would require a commitment of about $250 million in a ship, a barge and a processing plant just to get started. A Hughes-type hydraulic mining operation using one ship could expect to process metals (mainly copper and nickel) worth $67 million annually. The profit could come to about $27 million a year, for a reasonably attractive return on investment of 21%—competitive with conventional mines. Evidently Hughes has no intention of actually becoming a miner: Summa plans to sell its nodule technology, once it is perfected, rather than use it.

OIL: BLACK GOLD ROUND THE GLOBE

Oil and gas turn up where organic sediment has been left to pile up on the sea bottom for many millions of years. Those sediments are being found round the globe—in troughs running along the continental shelves and around the deltas of major rivers. Recent expeditions of Massachusetts' Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution pinpointed possible oil deposits off the mouths of China's Yellow and Yangtze rivers, among other locations.



GAS-OIL SEPARATOR PLANT OFF COAST OF SAUDI ARABIA
Next challenge: drilling 10,000 ft. underwater.

Offshore wells supply about 20% of the world's oil and 7% of its gas needs today, and their importance is rising fast. K.O. Emery, a senior geologist at Woods Hole, reckons that offshore oil production "will probably surpass that being recovered on land within a decade." In 1973, the world consumed about 20 billion bbl. By U.N. estimates, proven reserves currently total 640 billion bbl., including at least 115 bbl. in offshore deposits. But many scientists believe that the world's undersea oil supplies are far more extensive.

The controlling factors are technology and cost. Until recently, commercial drilling was feasible only to depths of about 300 ft., but now oil companies are extending their underwater reach. One new U.S. ship called a SEDCO-445 can drill at underwater depths of 6,000 ft., unfazed by huge waves and hurricane winds. Yet exploratory drilling in the stormy North Sea, for example, costs up to $5 million per hole—with no certainty of a strike. Price tags for drilling platforms range from $1 million to $2 million in such accessible areas as the Gulf of Mexico, to as much as $15 million in Alaska's Cook Inlet. The tab will climb even higher as oil companies explore farther offshore. Contrary to popular opinion, there is a possibility of oil finds in the deep oceans. Geophysicist Mahlon M. Ball of the University of Miami's Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Science says that there are "hundreds" of promising sites, some buried under 10,000 ft. or more of water.

ENERGY: HARVESTING HEAT

Eventually, mankind may be able to use the energy stored in the seas themselves, rather than in the oil and gas deposits beneath. As early as the 11th century, the ebb and flow of tides in the coastal inlets of Europe were tapped to turn water wheels. Today, the plant that France built in 1966 to tap the 27-ft. tides at the mouth of the Rance River faithfully produces 240 Mw. of electricity a year—about one-third the output of the average nuclear generating plant.

Recently, scientists have begun to look into a different form of sea energy. Covering 70% of the globe, the oceans trap a huge amount of solar heat. But much of this heat lies near the surface; sunlight cannot penetrate to lower depths. Thus there is a temperature differential that scientists like Physicist Clarence Zener of Carnegie-Mellon University think can be used to make electricity. For instance, he says, an easily vaporized liquid-like ammonia or the commercial refrigerant Freon could be passed through a closed loop of pipes submerged in the sea. In the warmer water near the surface, it would be vaporized; at depth, it would be liquefied again. The result: a continuous flow that could drive a turbogenerator. And the system would be pollution free.

FISH: DOWN ON THE AQUAFARM

The global sea-food haul has more than doubled since 1950, and the sustainable catch limits have already been reached in some species: the American lobster, halibut, haddock, tuna, cod and salmon. French Diplomat Michel Lennuyeaux-Comnène, a spokesman on fisheries policies, says that the seas are being so badly overfished that there may well be "no more fishing" in only 20 years. He warns: "We're literally eating our capital."

But others are not so pessimistic. At present, the seas supply only 13% of the world's animal-protein intake. Fisheries Expert Roland F. Smith of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Adminis-

Top to bottom: Navy's sub Makakai explores inky depths to 600 ft. Bright new flare lights diver's way. Sea lion helps recover dummy torpedo by attaching line in Navy's Project Quick Find.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY FLIP SCHULKE—BLACK STAR

tration (NOAA), believes that protein from the sea could feed 1.5 billion people —almost half the world's population. Smith notes that the 65 million metric tons of fish caught annually represent only one two-thousandth of the oceans' yearly fish production. One way to squeeze more out of the sea, he suggests, would be to wean people away from the 55 most popular species and get them to try some of the 30,000 to 40,000 underutilized varieties—an effort that might mean changing the names of such potential delicacies as the cancer crab and the rat-tailed flounder.

Some fisheries experts are putting great faith in aquaculture, or sea farming. In Washington, Biologist Jon Lindbergh, son of the aviator, is pioneering in the farming of salmon. After the fish come home to spawn, their eggs are collected and hatched in incubators. The fry are then raised until they are large enough to be kept in offshore pens for harvesting. On St. Croix, in the U.S. Virgin Islands, Lamont-Doherty scientists have successfully grown oysters, clams and scallops in artificial ponds, using nutrient-rich water piped in from the depths of the Caribbean.

Woods Hole Marine Biologist John Ryther has devised an even more ingenious aqua-farming scheme using partially treated sewage water from the Cape Cod town of Wareham. In his ponds, Ryther raises a thick harvest of plankton, which is then fed to baby oysters. To remove whatever ammonia, phosphates or nitrates the oysters and plankton may have left behind, he runs the sewage water over beds of seaweed, which also thrives on these chemicals. In the future, Ryther also plans to raise abalone as well as brine shrimp, which could be used to nourish rainbow trout. The remarkable thing about Ryther's ponds is that in addition to purifying the sewage, almost everything produced in them is potentially marketable—even the seaweed, which contains a widely used chemical stabilizer.

The main problems facing aqua-farmers are economic rather than technological. The University of Miami, for instance, manages to grow some 13 million baby shrimp a year in experimental ponds. But it takes 4 lbs. of expensive feed (soybean and fish meal, vitamins and mixed grain) to produce a single pound of cleaned shrimp, and the cost comes to over $3 per lb. That is hardly the answer to feeding the world's hungry, admits Miami Marine Biologist George Krantz. Other scientists argue that more emphasis should be placed on the harvesting and preparing of plankton, the protein-rich microscopic organisms on which both shrimp and whales feed. That should be another challenge for technology. By one estimate, a plant would have to process more than 260 million gal. of sea water just to produce a ton of plankton.

ARTHUR GRACE

SUN WORSHIPERS TANNING ON A SECLUDED SECTION OF THE PUBLIC BEACH IN TRURO, MASS.

FAMILY ON A PRIVATE BEACH IN TRURO

The Nudity Problem

In the past six weeks the beaches of Venice, Calif., have become dimpled moonscapes of posteriors slowly ripening in the sun. There are other views, "If you got 'em, you should show 'em," crows Yolanda Davis, 20, a brown-breasted Tetonesque dancer who bathes in the buff at Venice. "There's nothing nicer than a totally tan body with no white stripes of civilization in between," philosophizes Peter Simon, 27, a free-lance photographer on Martha's Vineyard. On a sunny Saturday the secluded dunes on Free Beach in Truro, Mass., reveal 500 bare beach bunnies of all ages. Defying the garment industry, New York vestiphobes invade Jones Beach early weekday mornings and shed their clothes. Every summer brings a flurry of nude bathing, but this year more Americans than ever, it seems, are stripping down for a gymnophiliac season in the sun.

But if nakedness comes, can sex be far behind? "Most forms of nudity are not sexual," maintains Boston Psychiatrist David Spiegel, who feels that in and of itself there is nothing wrong with nudism. "There is a difference between displaying genitalia and sexual behavior. Scientists who have gone to nudist colonies have repeatedly observed that when people take off their clothes, they are less sexual." In Brooklyn, N.Y., Federal Magistrate Vincent Catoggio had another opinion. "I don't know where these people get the idea they have a constitutional right to strip naked and parade in front of other people," he said, then set bail on a man who had been seized in the nude at Jacob Riis Park beach in Queens, L.I.

Cottontail. Among the skinny-dippers across the country, men seem to outnumber women by about three to one. In some areas—Cape Cod's Provincetown and New York's Fire Island, for instance—male homosexuals pioneered public beach nudity. Now joining them are the straights, mostly young adults and teen-agers, many of whom picked up the idea on the shores of Europe. Some, who have only recently unraveled their String bathing suits, still show the untanned, telltale skin area known as "the cottontail."

In most states, nudity itself cannot be prohibited under the law, nor can lewd be presumed from nude. Official reactions tend to reflect community attitudes, which range from indifferent to amused to enraged. Asked to rule on the "nudity problem" early in July, the Los Angeles city council voted 9 to 4 in favor of establishing "clothing optional" areas on city beaches. After a volley of protests the issue was re-voted. This time the decision swung

12 to 1 against public nude bathing.

No sooner had the ban gone into effect than the local American Civil Liberties Union got a temporary restraining order. "People are indignant, and many are threatening civil disobedience," reported ACLU Spokesman Rod Ridenour. "The '70s issue of privacy has replaced the '60s issues of equality and self-determination." "This is nonsense," said Southern California Psychologist Paul Bindrim. "Why not just put up a sign: DANGER—NUDE BEACH?"

Man's Best Friend?

Richard di Franco, 36, was shaving before going to work in his Portland, Me., restaurant. Standing in the doorway, Ferdinand, his large three-year-old St. Bernard, looked on. Di Franco leaned down to pat the dog's head. Without warning, the animal leaped forward and Di Franco felt his face gripped between Ferdinand's powerful, crushing jaws as his pet tore a long gash in his right cheek that took scores of stitches to repair.

This from a St. Bernard? From the legendary canine hero, renowned for padding to alpine rescues with a keg of brandy around his neck? One might as well think of Florence Nightingale turning into a guerrilla. Ten years ago, such an unprovoked attack on the master by a St. Bernard would have been considered eccentric and tragic. Today the list of incidents is multiplying: a four-year-old Indianapolis boy was mauled to death in January; a six-year-old Long Island boy met a similar fate in April; in July a three-year-old Bronx lad was severely mauled. The question now is: Has the breed degenerated?

"St. Bernards have been inbred to the point where excessive numbers of them have brain damage," claims Frank McMahon, chief field investigator for the Humane Society of the U.S. in Washington, D.C. According to McMahon, the St. Bernard, like other breeds before it, has suffered the effects of popularity. Citing huge commercial "puppy mills" run by unscrupulous owners, McMahon says: "The minute a dog rises high on the American Kennel Club list, the inbreeding and overbreeding start viciously."

Others argue that irresponsible owners, not careless mating, are at the root of the problem. "Anyone who has a large-breed dog should be required to take it to obedience school," says Canine Psychologist Michael E. Fox of St. Louis' Washington University. "The younger dogs are the more trainable," he adds, and recommends "six to eight weeks old" as a good starting time.

It is not only St. Bernards that suffer the evils of inbreeding. Some German shepherds have hip dysplasia (a flattening of the joint), attributed to selective mating of dogs whose congenital hip dysfunction gives them a long, graceful sloping line, but makes walking progressively more difficult and encourages arthritis. Chihuahuas, bred for large, domelike skulls, are often born hydrocephalic, become snappy and irritable as excess fluid presses on the brain. Neurophysiologist Richard Redding of Alabama's Auburn University has performed frontal lobotomies on 15 schizoid cocker spaniels whose unpredictable behavior oscillated between cuddly and violent.

Dramatic Increase. The shift in prestige from snooty miniatures to large dogs is a big factor in the current epidemic of biting. "Dogs are by far a more serious public health problem for this city than rats," says Deputy New York Health Commissioner Dr. Pasquale Imperato. With Dr. David Harris of Manhattan's Mount Sinai Hospital, Imperato has written a study of dog bites in New York City from 1965 to 1970. They report that more than 43% of the bites in the survey were by dogs weighing 50 lbs. or more. Confirming their findings, Urban Ecologist Alan Beck, also of Washington University, says that from 1963 to 1973, A.K.C. registrations of large-breed dogs increased dramatically (100% for German shepherds, 600% for Great Danes, 1,000% for St. Bernards). In that same period the bite rate doubled. Beck estimates the number of dog bites in the U.S. each year at 1 million, the annual cost of managing the problem at $50 million.

There are no federal, state or municipal laws regulating breeding, although there are many statutes on humane treatment. But odds are that canine affairs will now receive closer attention. Last April a poll by *Nation's Cities* magazine showed 60.6% of U.S. mayors reporting that animal problems lead the list of urban complaints—with traffic in second place and crime in a distant eighth.

AP

CONDEMNED ST. BERNARD
Pets turned killers.

MILESTONES

Married. Tommy Smothers, 37, dummy half of the brotherly comedy act; and Rochelle Robley, 37, his high school sweetheart; he for the second time, she for the third; in Las Vegas.

■

Died. Joe Flynn, 49, owlish actor who made big waves as the fumbling, cantankerous Captain Binghamton in TV's *McHale's Navy;* of accidental drowning in his swimming pool; in Los Angeles.

■

Died. Jay Hanna ("Dizzy") Dean, 63, Hall of Fame pitcher and language-mangling sportscaster; of a heart attack; in Reno. Son of an Okie sharecropper, Dean was scouted off a Texas sandlot, and won 18 games in 1932, his first full year with the St. Louis Cardinals. Two years later, his 30 victories along with 19 by his brother Paul ("Daffy"), led the Gashouse Gang to the pennant; the brothers won two games apiece as the Cards took the World Series. Compulsively impish, Dean approached the Boston Braves' bench before one game and announced with characteristic cornpone bravado: "I ain't pitchin' no curves today, boys." True to his word, he then "fogged over" nothing but fastballs, pitching a three-hit shutout. Dean's brilliant career was prematurely curtailed by injuries, and he retired in 1941 with a record of 150 wins against 83 losses. Later he became a highly popular broadcaster who startled listeners with such observations as "The players returned to their respectable bases" and "He slud into third base." On being enshrined at the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1953, he said: "I want to thank the good Lord for giving me a good right arm, a strong back and a weak mind."

■

Died. Carl Andrew ("Tooey") Spaatz, 83, architect of American air strategy during World War II; of heart disease; in Washington, D.C. A wiry, energetic West Pointer, General Spaatz flew "Jennies" against Pancho Villa in Mexico, and downed three German planes in World War I. As commanding general of U.S. Army Air Forces in Northwest Africa in 1943, he directed the bombings that paved the Allied path from Africa to Sicily to Italy, then engineered the massive daylight bombardment of crucial German industrial targets. He later carried out the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after his opposition to the atomic bombing of cities had been overruled. When the Air Force became the military's third full branch in 1947, the erect, taciturn general was named its first chief of staff.

■

Died. Sibyl Mary Hathaway, 90, Dame of Sark, a tiny English Channel island that she ruled as a benevolent feudal despot (*see* THE WORLD).

Curriculum Vitae

THE WAR BETWEEN THE TATES
by ALISON LURIE
372 pages. Random House. $9.

Nothing is more pleasurable than to sit in the shade, sip gin and contemplate other people's adulteries. While the wormy apple of marriage still lives, the novel will not die. And sure enough, in this summer-weight comedy of hanky-panky in a university town, the apple is a little mushy, but worm and novel are in the best of health.

As Mary McCarthy and Randall Jarrell discovered some time ago, a university is the ideal setting for a comedy of manners. After all, Jesuit seminaries and the U.S. Navy not excepted, the university is perhaps the only elaborate, rigidly mannered social unit left in the land.

JILL KREMENTZ

NOVELIST ALISON LURIE AT HOME NEAR THE CORNELL CAMPUS
The only rigidly mannered social unit in the land.

Brian Tate, professor of government at Corinth University, is a brilliant, stuffy fellow, wickedly mocked by his own short stature. Wendy, a boneless counterculture chicken enrolled in one of his graduate courses, is unaccountably but irrevocably daft about him. He is flattered but sensible; 46-year-old professors do not (or should not) have affairs with students. Yet she clings, adores and listens in damp fascination to his explanations of foreign policy.

The professor, fond fellow, decides that "what he really ought to do [is] sleep with Wendy . . . as soon as possible. She would see then that he was only a man like other men . . . He didn't *want* to commit adultery, he told himself, but it was his duty."

Yes. Brian follows where duty leads, which is downward, to the linoleum floor of his office. But Wendy is not detached from her obsession. She flutters to the floor several times a week, like a napkin off a fat man's lap. When Brian is absent she writes rumbustious letters, one of which is intercepted by his beautiful, intelligent, talented and rather dull wife, 39-year-old Erica.

The author suffers a mild lapse of malice in her view of Erica, the only figure in the novel not drawn in caricature. She is less villainous, but also less interesting, than Brian, Wendy and the Tates' two loathsome teen-age children, and Novelist Lurie does not really see this. Still, Erica has her moments. She befriends Wendy, by now pregnant, and convinces herself that this mewling muddle of saber-toothed helplessness represents Woman Wronged. Nothing will do, she announces, but that Brian divorce her and marry Wendy. This is horror at its most gothic—an intermittently tolerable mistress about to be transformed into an utterly frightful wife, complete with infant—and Brian's soul is filled with dread.

Flummery. As poor Brian wriggles, and each new page takes a turn for the worse, the author pea-shoots expertly at all of the usual suburban targets. Even when the satire is forced, it is usually funny, as when the suet-brained Wendy tells Brian: "In a relationship you're just screwing the guy. In a meaningful relationship, you're screwing him and also he's your best friend."

The wife of a Cornell University English professor, Lurie has the manners and preoccupations of academic life close at hand. Her earlier books *(The Nowhere City, Imaginary Friends, Real People)* displayed something of the same shrewd realism combined with an interest in theoretical systems—*The War Between the Tates* is domestic conflict described in terms of power struggles, strategy and bargaining.

Claims of profundity and greatness are made for the author by her friends and are quoted on the dust jacket. They should be ignored. This is flummery, although of a very high order. So two-and-a-half cheers, at any rate, for Novelist Lurie. And Brian Tate for dean of women! ■ John Skow

Critic's Gambit

FIELDS OF FORCE
by GEORGE STEINER
86 pages. Macmillan. $9.15.

"Chess," as George Steiner indicates in this little antidote to Reykjavík's hyperbolic summer of '72, "may well be the deepest, least exhaustible of pastimes, but it is nothing more. Bobby Fischer's assertion that it is 'everything' is merely necessary monomania. As for the maniac: "A chess genius is a human being who focuses vast, little-understood mental gifts and labors on an ultimately trivial human enterprise. Almost inevitably, this focus produces pathological symptoms of nervous stress and unreality."

In *Fields of Force* the symptoms are recalled with an intelligence that, like the champion's, has little room for compassion. Fischer's unstable personality, a fusion of Garbo and Barnum, is examined in all its two dimensions. The aging *Wunderkind* remains a prodigy, perhaps the most powerful grand master the world has ever witnessed. But from the opening gambit it is obvious that the author's affections are with Boris Spassky.

To be sure, Steiner admits, Bobby inoculated the world with chess fever singlehanded. Piling demands upon tantrums, he elevated the first prize from $3,000 to $2 million and transformed a board game into a blood sport. But Steiner, a literary critic first and a chess *patzer* second, is appalled by Fischer's xenophobic rancor, his avarice and below all, his literary taste *(Fu Manchu, Tarzan* and *Playboy).*

On the far side of the board, matters are more elevated: Steiner's Reykjavík encounter with the Russian was "a privilege. He is an individual of great charm and impeccable courtesy. In contrast to Fischer, Spassky's literacy is wide and his political awareness is at once subtle and adult." Yet as the admirer acknowledges, that cultivation may have undone Spassky. Despite the Russian's domination of the game for a decade, the Boris of Iceland displayed a literal and philosophical resignation in the face of Fischer's predatory inventions. The result was less drama than ritual: civilization vanquished by barbarism. Or was it decadence

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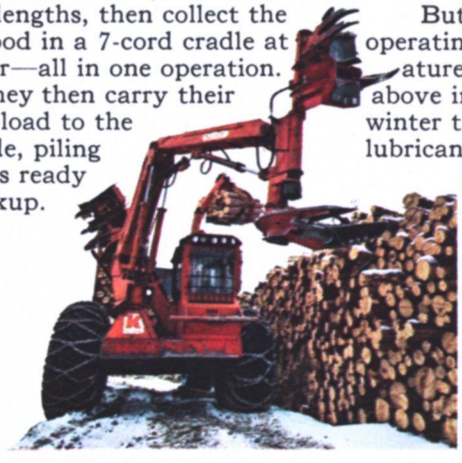

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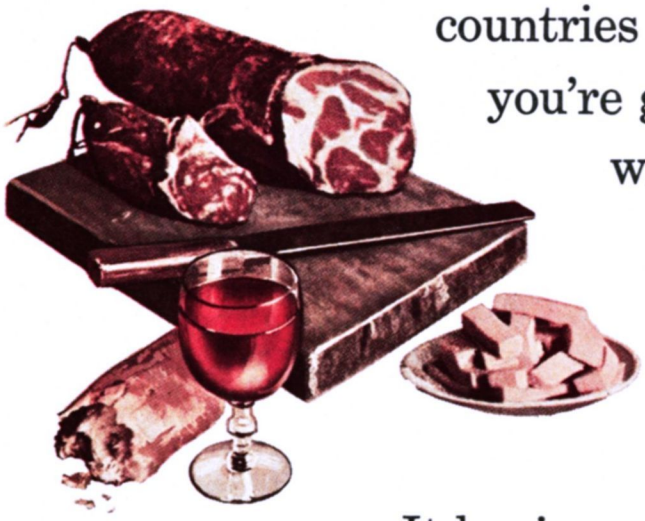

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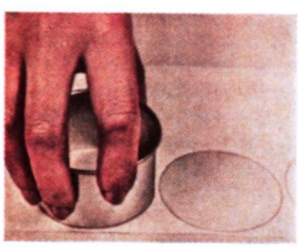
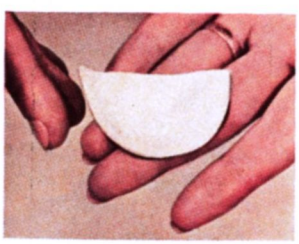


Tortellini (pasta rings stuffed with chicken and cheese) are easy to make with step-by-step pictures to guide you.

Once you cut the circles of pasta (*top picture*), wet the edges of a circle, lay filling on the top. Fold over.



Gently press wetted edges together with fingertips to make certain that filling will not emerge during cooking.

Now wrap the piece of dough around your finger and press ends together, forming a ring of the *tortellini*.

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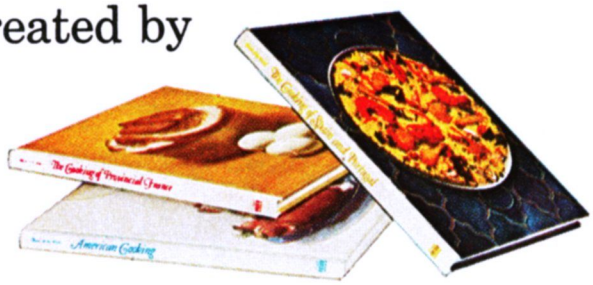

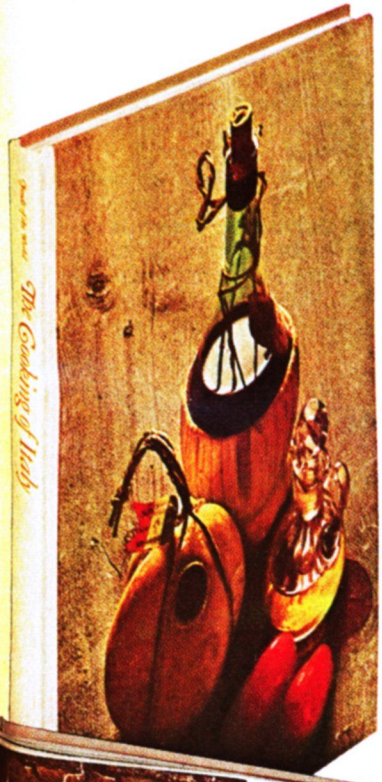

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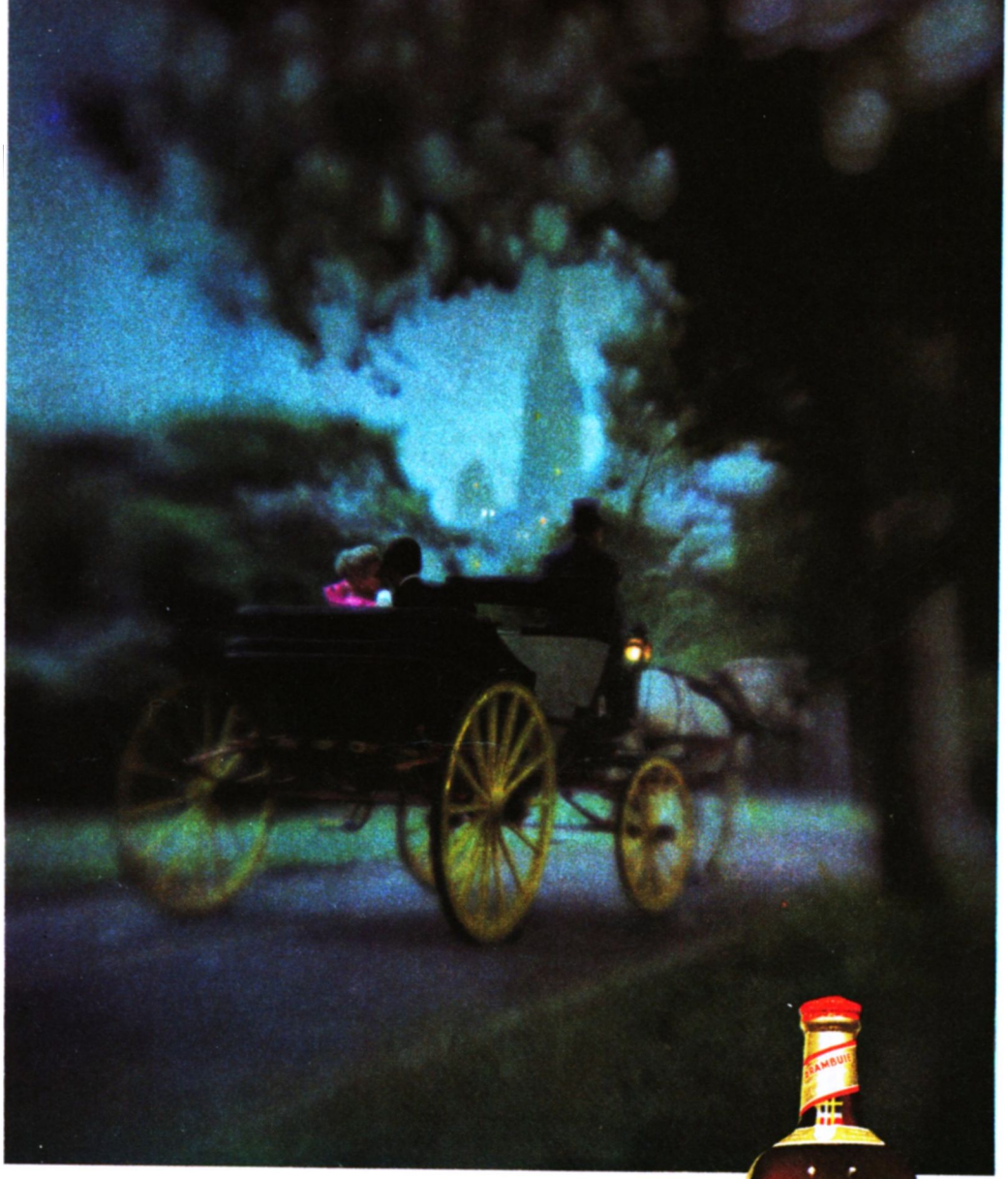

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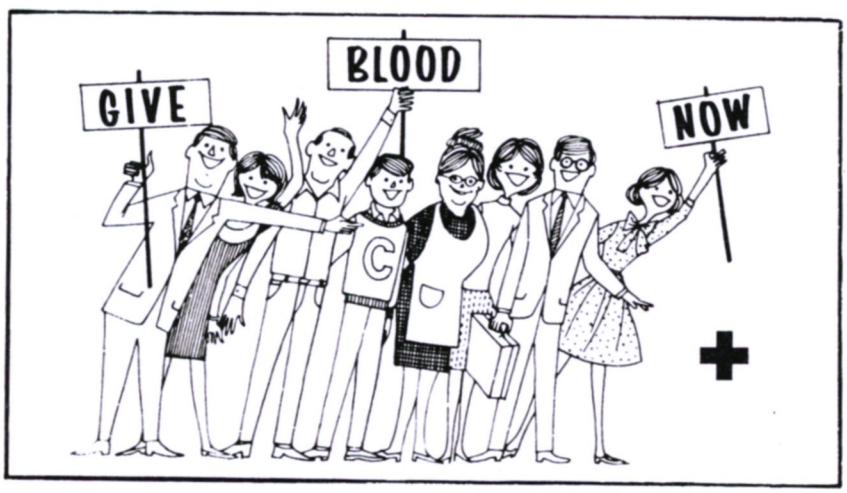

defeated by energy? Or was it an unconscious harbinger of détente?

As Steiner comes to acknowledge, the event that Fischer called "this little thing between me and Spassky" was not so minor after all. "To an extraordinary number of human beings," he concludes, "the events of that summer communicated a rare sense of intensity . . . for several months, a totally esoteric, essentially trivial endeavor, associated with pimply, myopic youths and vaguely comical old men on park benches, held the world enthralled."

There is no proper way to re-create that intensity on the board; despite the book's schematics, the actual play at Reykjavík was not the stuff of legend. It is the text that manages to capture the historic and psychological undercurrents that made everyone believe for a moment that chess was indeed "everything." Steiner calls his own chess prowess "risible." His book, however, is deadly serious. The men he moves are real. ■ Stefan Kanfer

Crime as Punishment

A DRESSING OF DIAMOND
by NICOLAS FREELING
252 pages. Thos. Nelson. $9.

Two years ago, Nicolas Freeling committed a rare and shocking crime which might be described as protagonisticide. In *Auprès de Ma Blonde,* with no advance warning, he killed off his own central character, a laconic Amsterdam detective named Van der Valk, through whose human but gritty sensibility the author had previously filtered a dozen of the best psychological suspense novels written in Europe since the war.

Freeling pleaded extenuating circumstances—his own need for a change of character and scene. Faithful Freeling readers who, since *Love in Amsterdam* (1963), have stoutly prized Van der Valk even above Simenon's Inspector Maigret, ground their teeth and waited. Now comes *A Dressing of Diamond,* the first proof of Freeling's new freedom. The scene is the new exurbia outside Paris, where a saucy mini-*gratte-ciel* apartment building full of affluent city commuters not only scrapes the sky but rubs nearby villagers and the demoralized peasantry the wrong way. Henri Castang, Freeling's new sleuth, is a low-key public servant who, like Van der Valk, cites Proust and Dickens without sounding pretentious.

The crime involved is kidnaping, not for ransom but rather as a comeuppance for an old grudge. Colette Delavigne, aged 27, is a judge in the juvenile courts and the pretty offspring of a brilliant *haute bourgeois* family. Colette is married to Bernard, a rich young executive who sells yogurt but is by her standards a social inferior. When a spiteful villager abducts their eight-year-old daughter as part of an ongoing vendetta against

Colette's family, the Delavigne marriage is further strained.

The situation allows Freeling to display a talent for domestic dialogue. In several deft scenes he explores the problem of feminine achievement and male pride in a country where marriage has usually been seen as a grueling lifetime game of mixed doubles.

The book is full of Freeling's virtues. There are secondary characters so swiftly and seductively sketched that they threaten to run off into novels all their own. Still, most Freeling fans may wonder if much is gained by introducing the new hero. *A Dressing of Diamond* is likely to send them figuratively off to Strasbourg to stone the author's house and shout, "Bring back Van der Valk!" The judgment may be a scrap premature. Freeling is not quite the chameleon poet of crime he thought he was, but he remains a writer worth waiting for. ■ Timothy Foote.

PIERRE HONEGGER

NOVELIST NICOLAS FREELING
First proof of new freedom.

The Stung

THE SILVER BEARS
by PAUL ERDMAN
260 pages. John Wiley. $8.95.

Like the Mississippi, the swindle theme runs deep, wide and muddy through the heart of American literature. Melville navigated the subject on the river boat *Fidèle*, which he filled with assorted rascals for his novel *The Confidence Man*. It was no coincidence that in Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* the shuck and the flim-flam cut across racial and class lines, from Nigger Jim's magical hair ball to the King and the Duke's pretentious rip-offs.

Today the con game is bigger, more complex and even respectable. The jet liner and the telex cable have replaced the side-wheeler and the raft. Even the

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suckers are more impressive, as Equity Funding stockholders and the recent star-studded list of unfortunate Home-Stake oil-drilling investors has indicated. Yet there is still no first-class novel of contemporary American business. Perhaps it is because those who know the most about the subject are satisfied to be putting their creative talents to more profitable use.

Baser Metal. Paul Erdman is an exception. Although he is not the James Joyce of high finance, he is not Jacqueline Susann either. His plots and characters tend to be simple, but he combines a zest for the intricate poetry of the big deal with the ability and cheerful willingness to explain it. His first novel, the bestselling *The Billion Dollar Sure Thing*, straightened out the mysterious alchemy of the international gold market. It earned added interest from Erdman himself, a financier and economist who wrote the book while a resident in the Basel prison. The Swiss government insisted that he remain its guest for ten months after the American-owned Swiss bank that Erdman managed failed. Several of the bank's officials went too long in cocoa and silver futures and tried to cover their mistake by fudging the books.

The Silver Bears deals in a baser metal, but it is just as entertaining and instructive as the first novel. Although names and places have been somewhat altered, the plot is built on the manic-depressive 1968 fluctuations in the price of silver that made millions for a few and skinned thousands who were convinced that silver had nowhere to go but up.

It was, Erdman believes, the largest market manipulation in history, and his fact-filled fictional explanation goes like this. Some American Mafiosi, looking for a place to launder their tainted, untaxed dollars, buy a small Swiss bank. One of their first ventures is to bankroll an aristocratic Iranian who claims to have a huge silver mine. Word of this hoard leaks out to one of the world's richest men who also enjoys cornering the world's silver supply. Fearing that the Iranian's silver will flood the market and dilute the price, he makes an offer that even the Mafia cannot refuse.

Although Erdman does not neglect characterization and the mechanics of storytelling, he is more intent on delivering cold truths. Mainly, that whatever speculators were hearing about the future of silver in 1969, it was largely piped misinformation from a handful of super-sophisticated con men. In his novel, the lords of both the underworld and overworld put aside hurt pride to concentrate on profit by colluding to rig the market. All those dentists, airline pilots and what Erdman gleefully calls "greedy widows" who invested in silver futures never stood a chance. The odds of beating the professionals were about the same as a man in a wheelchair getting a football through the Miami Dolphins' defense. ■ R.Z. Sheppard

Kinship of Guilt

THE LAKE
by YASUNARI KAWABATA
Translated by REIKO TSUKIMURA
160 pages. Fitzhenry & Whiteside. $8.

Yasunari Kawabata is probably best known in the West for his novels *Snow Country* (1956) and *Thousand Cranes* (1959). Which is to say that this most Japanese of Japanese writers remains somewhat obscure to Western readers despite his 1968 Nobel Prize for Literature. His fiction seems to be most valued in Japanese for those qualities that are most difficult to render in translation: precision and delicacy of image, the shimmer of haiku, an allusive sadness and minute sense of the impermanence of things.

The Lake, written in 1955, is somewhat like Kawabata's other works in its disregard of conventional plot, proceeding back and forth across time only by a logic of association. It also possesses an uncharacteristic and rather clammy eroticism. In this claustrophobic reverie, Gimpei Momoi, a 34-year-old schoolteacher, a dim cousin of Nabokov's Humbert Humbert, disconsolately follows women, or schoolgirls, through the streets. Filled with a "masochistic self-disgust" that has its origins in his own deformed feet, Gimpei (which might almost be some accidental translingual pun—"Momoi the Gimp") is another of literature's repellent voyeurs—a wincing, hypersensitive defective on the sad trail of ineffable beauty.

One woman that he pursues hurls her purse at him and flees. Opening the purse, Gimpei finds a minor fortune in yen that the woman has just drawn from the bank; he steals it and flees himself. The woman never reports the loss to the police, for it is money she collected in shame as the mistress of an aged industrialist. Kawabata possessed a delicate sense of the tie between victim and criminal, the kinship of guilt. And of the kinship of sex and death, which the artist, in whatever deformed guises, labors to transcend through art itself.

The Lake is often lovely in its diaphanous scenes—a nighttime ritual of catching fireflies, for example. In this translation, at least, it is also sometimes disagreeable and unsettling. One passage in which Gimpei gets a massage in a Karuizawa bathhouse reads eerily like Arthur Bremer's diary, in which he described a visit to a Manhattan massage parlor some time before he started stalking George Wallace. There might be a good doctoral thesis in the psychological relationship between the literary and the political creep in the late 20th century. Kawabata could not offer any further advice for it, however, since he quietly committed suicide in 1972 at the age of 72. ■ Lance Morrow

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